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be sold; the composer earns a living out of it, or hopes to. And finally, there is the obvious and important difference between a composition that depends upon writing and one that needs only singing or speaking and hearing. And from this difference flow a number of significant correlaries. The folk song is much more local; it is commonly expressed in local terms; it has local allusions. The popular song refers to a much wider community of experience. The popular song, being written, is standardized; of it one does not collect "versions." Popular songs that develop versions are passing into folk songs. But the *Saturday Evening Post* appears in almost three million identical versions every Thursday. And the popular song, the popular story, exist in the world of fashion and fad. Among the folk, where communication is much slower, there is much less fashion; at least, in folk literature, there are probably no "rages." The "rage" is a trait of the *demos*.

If we turn to the songs and to the literature which are current in Mexico, we find examples of all three sorts: sophisticated, popular, and folk. That type of song and story which has widest currency, however, is in many respects transitional between folk literature and popular literature, folk song and popular song. The more primitive village peoples still sing the ancient traditional songs and tell the old traditional tales. The peoples of the towns and cities, at least the middle and upper classes there, sing sentimental songs, which are locally Mexican, and even the jazz ditties of

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ephemeral favor in New York or London. But in between lies a great mass of transitional literature, a sort of "folk-popular" literature, which expresses the fact that in Mexico we have a collection of folk peoples who are becoming *demos*.

This intermediate literature is best known from its outstanding form, the ballad known as *corrido*.[1] The *corrido* is in first instance orally transmitted. The composer, a singer of local prestige, communicates it to the circle of listeners; it tends immediately to become anonymous. But it is not wholly independent of writing. In the rural districts it may be set down in private copy-books, and in the cities it sometimes circulates on cheap printed leaflets—just as did the "broadside ballad" of Elizabethan England.

[1] "The commonest form of musical expression is the *corrido*, literally, 'current happening.' Any event that touches the people immediately finds its way into this form of ballad. Its words are printed on a gaudy sheet of paper, usually green or pink, embellished often by a lurid wood cut. The verse is doggerel and the music a 'catchy' refrain. But the *corridos* are a valuable index to popular thought. During the Revolution Zapata outranked all other figures in the variety and number of *corridos* about him. Villa, pictured as 'muy hombre,' the hero of gigantic exploits, came next. Carranza did not figure in *corridos*—he made no appeal to popular imagination. 'The arm of Obregon'—the arm lost on the field of battle—did. Heroic, tragic, gruesome, pathetic themes prevail. Deeds of valor, floods, earthquakes, famines, calamities generally, which affect the people, are instantly sung. The writer usually begins by announcing the subject of his verse—as if addressing an audience, and in concluding often takes leave of it. He is a modern troubadour—but instead of offering his vocal wares to the mighty, as of old, the people are his patrons, for the *corridos* are sold for a centavo or two in the markets.

"An essential quality of the *corridos* is their ingenuousness: The writer is wholly frank. He tells not only of his hero's prowess, but of his weaknesses—his drunkenness, his offenses against law and order, his fickleness to his sweethearts, as well as their faithlessness. And just as he views the hero of his theme without illusion he applies similar measurements to the great and near-great of his country—the generals and politicians" (Gruening, *op. cit.*, pp. 647–48).

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Nevertheless a very large part of transport takes place on human backs with the aid of aboriginal devices. Burdens are supported with the aid of the forehead tump-line (S. *mecapal;* N. *mecapalli*), which is sometimes assisted by another line across the chest. Articles are carried either in the *chiquihuite*, which is then bound to the *mecapal* by means of the *ayate* (N. *ayatl*),[1] a tough, coarse-woven cloth of maguey fiber, or else in the *huacal* (N. *huacalli*), a crate of rough-hewn sticks. Water is carried in a hollow gourd (S. *bule;* N. *atecomatl*), supported by a lacing of leather thongs. Women, as has already been said, carry purchases or small belongings in the *canasta*, or occasionally in a long rectangular fiber bag (S. *bolsa*). Men never carry these, but use for the *machete* or other possessions a small flat, square bag of vegetable fiber, the *morral* (S.).

Of musical instruments, recognized by the Tepoztecans as such, all are European: guitar, flute, saxophone, cornet, etc. Ritual music is sharply distinguished and ordinarily not called music. Of instruments employed for this purpose the horizontal wooden double-slotted drum (*teponaztli*) is entirely pre-Columbian. One of the two *teponaztlis* remaining in Tepoztlán has every appearance of being an actual pre-Columbian artifact. The *huehuetl*, the vertical drum with the skin head, which in Mexico is a commoner survival than the *teponaztli*, does not occur in

[1] On the use of the *ayate* among the Otomi see Starr, *Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 8.

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merchants of Tepoztlán and of the satellite villages there come regularly textile sellers from Mexico City and pottery vendors from Cuernavaca, as well as occasional wandering merchants from other and more distant towns.[1] The market day is also a news day.

The importance of Sunday probably varies directly in proportion to the degree to which the individual has taken on city ways. It is not an Indian institution, and in busy season at least *los tontos* do not observe it as a day of rest. But characteristically all classes put on their best clothes on Sunday. When the priest is there the more Catholic may attend mass in the *Templo Mayor*. Sometimes, the "new orchestra" may play in the little bandstand in the *plaza*. Such sophisticated re[illegible]ments are promoted by the more city-wise mino[illegible]ty—*los correctos*.

Like all the simpler peoples, whose food and whose occupations are directly dependent upon seasonal changes, the Tepoztecans are closely attentive to the

[1] There follows a list, not quite complete, of goods sold in the regular bi-weekly markets. Of course the limitation "in season" applies to many of the fruits: (1) Produced in Tepoztlán or the satellite villages: oranges; bananas; *chayotes; manzanillos* (*tejocotes*); limes; lemons (rare); avocados; plums; chirimoyas; mameys; sapotes (four or five kinds); tomatoes; husk tomatoes; sugar cane; *pitos;* acacia pods (*guajes*, N. *guaxi*); peanuts; tamarind beans; coffee; squash seeds; acacia seeds; beans (several kinds); maize; coriander; *manzanillo* jelly; clotted cream; honey; pine kindling; lime; eggs; medicinal herbs. (2) Produced outside the valley: potatoes, onions, and rarely other vegetables, from Cuernavaca; occasional vegetables, as beets, carrots, lettuce, rosemary, small squashes, from Xochimilco, Federal District; pottery from Cuernavaca, from Toluca, and from the state of Puebla; baskets from southern Morelos; leather thongs for sandals and fiber nets (*ayates*) from Cuautla; zarapes and mats, from Toluca and elsewhere; lima beans and such spices as *pimienta*, cloves, and cumin seed, from Mexico City; textiles and notions from Mexico City. Other supplies, and also some that are on these lists, are bought in the stores.

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# CHAPTER VI

## A TEPOZTECAN BOOK OF DAYS[1]

*January 1.*—This is the *fiesta* of Santa María de Tepoztlán. At midnight, the first hour of the day before the *fiesta*, the bells are rung in the towers of the Templo Mayor. They ring at intervals, first the large bell and then the small ones, until two o'clock. Then the *chirimitero* climbs to the roof of the church, and in a silence of the bells he begins to play his little wooden flageolet. This is what he plays, or some variation of this theme.

The reedy notes of this instrument, accompanied by a small drum marking this persistent rhythm, rise again and again until dawn. Whenever the *chirimía* is silent, the bells begin again, while the *chirimitero* and his drummer protect themselves against the night air by attending to the bottle they have brought with them. At daybreak they go home.

[1] The present tense is used throughout this chapter as a convenience. No visitor can assert that any ritual or practice always takes place in a certain manner. Strictly speaking, the following account is of festival activity from November to July, 1926–27, observed (except in a few cases) by the writer, and of festal activity for the other months of the year described to him by Tepoztecans. The essential features of these rituals are repeated each year in the same manner. And certainly the form in which this cycle of *fiestas* is here presented does represent the way the people themselves think about them—as changeless repetition.

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533 At noon they are back on the roof of the church, in
*796 the shadow of a bell tower, and the *chirimía* is resumed. The bell-ringer is back again too, swinging the clapper by means of a short leather thong. They keep it up until three in the afternoon. Once more,
[541] before dawn on the following day, they begin again, and the arrival of the *fiesta* is further announced by the hiss and explosion of rockets.

541 This is not an important *fiesta*, and except for the
*796 inevitable *chirimía*, it is distinguished only by the
533 burning of a *castillo de la noche* in the atrium of the big church. As soon as it is dark, people gather along the walls of the churchyard, and the fuse is ignited. Catherine wheels, rockets, and balls of colored fire, unit by unit it burns, until the last brilliant burst from the top of the tower. Then the *chirimitero*, who has been playing on the roof of the church, comes down and plays standing beside a fire made in a corner of the atrium, while the framework of the *castillo* is removed from its pole. A procession forms, lit by
[372] *ocote* torches and led by the seven sections of the *castillo*, carried by seven men, and followed by the *chirimitero* and the drummer and people who may care to come along. The procession goes to some house in the *barrio* of Santa Cruz. The *mayordomías* (stew-
794 ardships) of the *castillo* and the candles burned in the
*796 church for this *fiesta* inhere in the *barrio* of Santa
541 Cruz, and the *mayordomos* are always men of this *barrio*. Arrived at the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo*, the framework is put down, there to be kept until next year.

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until next year. A bottle of *aguardiente* is passed around by the *mayordomo*, another fire is built, and the *chirimía* plays there all night.

On the morning of the first of January a new municipal government is elected and installed. But this is accomplished in semi-secrecy by a political clique controlled from Cuernavaca.[1] A group of men crossing the *plaza* after an election, formal only, a number of rockets discharged in honor of the new *presidente*—it all passes almost unnoticed by most of the people who go about their affairs thinking of the *castillo* that evening.

*January 2 and 3.*—These two days are the occasion of the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa* for the *fiesta* just passed. On one of these two days the people must come to pay their pledges for the candles or for the *castillo*, which are paid for by popular subscription. The subscriptions are perennial, made each year in the same amount on the same day with the same ritual, and constitute a promise to the *santo*. For this *fiesta*, which is a *fiesta* of the entire town, people come to pay from all the *barrios*, and even from the little villages around Tepoztlán.

Today there are two *chirimías* playing simultaneously in the houses of the two *mayordomos* in Santa Cruz. The sound of these *chirimías*, and the occasional discharge of rockets and of mortars of gunpowder, serve to remind of their obligation those who have pledged payment. The people come to make this pay-

[1] The year of this study.

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*ramada* in preparation for the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. The atrium and the floor of the church are swept, and the altars decorated with flowers and tissue-paper garlands. The figures of the Three Kings, usually a triplet of *santos* at the altar, are placed so that candles may be burned separately to each. A tissue-paper lantern, in the form of a clock, is hung above the door of the chapel.

*January 5.*—This is the day before the *fiesta* of Los Reyes. At night the chapel is open and women of the *barrio* come to pray. The men of the *barrio* march to the chapel with the rockets to be set off for the *fiesta*, and then go to the house of the *mayordomo* to enjoy the usual bottle of alcohol. At about ten o'clock *Los Pastores*, the boys who come with staffs of bells to sing traditional songs on Christmas Eve, dance to the chapel of Los Reyes and there dance and sing before the Magi. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding corn and squash seeds for the *tamales* to be eaten the next day. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

*January 6.*—On the day of the *fiesta* the *barrio* of Los Reyes entertains friends from other *barrios* and other villages. Everyone puts on his best clothes. In the morning women come to the chapel to burn candles before the *santos* and to pray. After nightfall a small *castillo*, in the form of a bull, is burned in the atrium of the chapel. The *mayordomos* for next year's *fiesta* are chosen at a meeting just outside the chapel.

*January 7.*—The *chirimía*, now playing at the

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houses of the *mayordomos* in Los Reyes, announces the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* for that *fiesta*. In the afternoon the secular entertainment for the *fiesta* is provided by *toros*—a sort of primitive bullfight. Everyone comes to the *corral* next to the chapel of Los Reyes to see the bulls roped and thrown, and to see men ride them bareback.

*January 8 and 9.*—On these afternoons also there are *toros*. The performance is not varied, but is well attended on each of the three days.

The harvest is over now, even in the fields above the town, which ripen late. The last green squashes have been taken out of the corn. The *milpas* are deserted, except where cattle forage. People are picking coffee and spreading the berries in the sun to dry. In Santa Cruz, where there is much coffee, there is more to do than in other *barrios*. But on the whole there is not much work and there is time to enjoy the many *fiestas* of January. The trees still bear the heavy foliage the rains brought them, but the sky is cloudless, and the outlines of the hills are very clear.

*January 11.*—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of Santo Domingo. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel and rockets are discharged.

*January 12.*—This is the day for the *fiesta* of Santo Domingo. This is not an important *fiesta*, and there is no *castillo*. The *chirimía* plays again and the people of the *barrio* eat the customary *mole verde* and *tamales*. Sometimes the *Apaches* of San Juan come to dance at the chapel.

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incense; behind follow musicians. As they come to the church rockets are discharged.

Then a group of men go to the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo* to fetch the *castillo*. This is the occasion for a social half-hour with a bottle furnished by the *mayordomo*. The sections of the *castillo* are brought to the church, also to the sound of rockets, and bound to the pole. The raising of the pole requires a great deal of heaving and shouting; everyone comes to watch, and the event furnishes a climax to the morning. The dancers march off to eat *mole verde* and *tamales* in the houses of the *mayordomos*, and people disperse to share the festal dinner with friends or to buy food from vendors.

At about three o'clock the *castillo* is set off. After dark a *castillo de la noche* is burned. This is the last event, and most people go home.

*January 19.*—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

Although there are only sixteen houses in the *barrio*, the *fiesta* is an important one, and therefore the "*fiesta* of the *mole*" is commonly postponed until the following Sunday. Including the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa*, the *fiesta* may thus last more than a week.

*January 20.*—This is the day of the *fiesta*. The *chirimía* continues to play. The chapel is open and candles burn before the *santo*.

*Saturday, January 23* (about).—In the evening a *castillo de la noche* is burned. A load of *pulque* for the

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*796 *tepach* arrives from the *tierra fría*. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding, for the burden of hospitality is a heavy one, resting on so few households.

*Sunday, January 24 (about).*—The celebration of the *fiesta* of San Sebastian occurs on this day. People come from other *barrios* and other villages. There are [438] some who come to sell candies and cakes. Women [535] bring candles and flowers to the *santo*. *Los Apaches* of [541] San Juan should come to dance.[1] In the afternoon a *castillo del día* is set off. Everyone in the *barrio* eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[533] *Monday, January 25 (about).*—The *chirimía*, play- [794] ing in San Sebastian, announces the *castiyohpa* and [54] the *cerahpa* for that *fiesta*. In the afternoon there are *toros*. Los Reyes lends its *corral* and San Miguel its bulls; the same men take part, so that the *toros* of San Sebastian are a repetition of the *toros* of Los Reyes.

*796 *Tuesday, January 26 (about).*—This is the second 535 day of the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa*. In the after- [292] noon a group of men gather at the chapel of San Sebastian. Some are masked with burlap and wear any bizarre rags; some are dressed as women; and some, *los Chinelos*, wear long satin gowns, huge hats, and bearded masks. When all are ready, the "old musicians" begin to play the air traditionally used for "leaping" (*brincar*) and the masked men begin to move toward the plaza, jumping up and down with the high, short, prancing step prescribed by custom.

[1] The year of this study they failed to fulfil their obligation.

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These are the *Chinelos* who leap at the carnival. Only a few of them leap on this day, but it is customary for some of them to do so on the last day of the *fiesta* of San Sebastian. This event is known as *tlatlalnamiquiliztli* (recollection—of the performance of the obligation to leap). There is no organization of *Chinelos* in San Sebastian, but St. Sebastian is thought of as the recorder of the fulfilment of the obligation to leap. By leaping on his day its performance the previous year is recognized. But to the people today's leaping not only recalls last year's carnival, but gives them a foretaste of the leaping, on a larger scale, soon to be enjoyed at the carnival next month.

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*Wednesday, January 27 (about).*—A great burst of rockets and the playing of the *chirimía* announce the end of the eight-day *fiesta* of San Sebastian.

796* [533] [541]

*February 2: La Candelaria (Candlemas).*—On this day the little doll (the Christ child), put to bed at many a domestic altar on Christmas Eve, is taken up and dressed. This ceremony is the same as is performed with a real baby forty days after its birth, when it is first taken to hear mass. Today is the *sacamisa* (*tlatlatiyopanquiztia*) of the child God (*el niño Dios; teopiltzintli*). The master of the house where the doll lies in its *crèche* gives a party. He invites his friends, and asks some man to act as godfather to the *niño Dios*, and some woman to act as godmother. The godmother makes clothes for the little image; these may be of silk and embroidered, and quite elaborate. On the day of the *fiesta* at dinner time (about two in

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will buy up their neighbor's coffee and carry it to Cuernavaca for resale. Many men, having no other work and no savings, have gone to the sugar *haciendas* at Oacalco to work there as day laborers.[1] They do not take their women with them. Sometimes a woman cooks for them all in the camp at the *hacienda*. Sometimes they come back twice a week to Tepoztlán to fetch food prepared for them by their wives. Then twice a week the women spend hours by day and by night grinding on the *metate* to make them enough *tortillas* and *itacates* and *gorditas* to last them three days at Oacalco.

The entire village has its attention directed toward the coming carnival—the most important secular *fiesta* of the valley. Almost everyone in Tepoztlán has some share in it, while those who come to Tepoztlán from other villages come only as guests to enjoy the hospitality of Tepoztlán. The carnival is the supreme co-operative effort of the town. In February the men of San Miguel, La Santísima,[2] and Santo Domingo are organizing the *comparsas* for the masked dancers. Musicians must be hired from larger towns, and the cost of their hire is now apportioned among the members of the *comparsas*. These members, who will leap as *Chinelos* during the carnival, are busy sewing glass beads and mirrors on the huge, laterally flattened *sombreros* which they will wear. Their wives and mothers

[1] This exodus began the second half of December.

[2] The *comparsa* of La Santísima was first organized about three years ago; the other two groups are ancient.

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527 535 are sewing them new gowns, or refurbishing the old ones. The members of that family, whose traditional [532] task it is to make the masks worn by the *Chinelos*, are busy cleaning and curling horsehair and fastening it to the wire frames.

527 443 438 439 Many who will not leap as *Chinelos* are preparing to sell homemade cakes in booths. Others are arranging to bring some pulque down from the plateau, some to go to Cuernavaca for ice to make flavored ices, some to cook *pozole* in great *ollas* in the *plaza*. Some are buying combs and beads and handkerchiefs in Mexico City to sell at the carnival. The carnival is the supreme economic effort of Tepoztlán; it is an opportunity to make money and to spend it.

527 *February 28, March 1 and 2 (about)*.—The carnival is celebrated during the two week-ends preceding Lent. There are six days of carnival: Saturday, Sunday, and Monday of the first week-end, and the corresponding three days a week later (the *octava*). During these days there are covered booths on two sides [265 541] of the *plaza* with benches and tables where ices and bottled drinks are sold. In the morning there are cockfights in the *plaza*.

527 535 At just three o'clock in the afternoon a gunpowder mortar is discharged at the house of the president of the *comparsa* where the *Chinelos* are gathered. At this [533] signal the band, which each *comparsa* has hired, begins to play the "leaping" music (the drum accenting very markedly the first of each triplet).

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The *Chinelos*[1] leap down to the *plaza*. They leap around and around the *plaza*, occasionally emitting loud whoops. They wear long gowns of satin, blue or pink or yellow, with a square cape hanging from the shoulder. The color and the design of the embroidery vary, but each dancer wears the same long gown with a cape, the same staring mask with recurved black beard of horsehair, the same huge *sombrero*, beaded

and surmounted with an ostrich plume. Each wears gloves and carries a handkerchief filled with confetti.

Hour after hour the leaping continues. The bands take turns playing. At intervals dance music is played and the *Chinelos* dance together in couples. Hundreds of people sit or stand on the edges of the *plaza*, watching the spectacle. When dark comes, the gasoline lamps are lit and each vendor of cakes and drinks along the *plaza* lights a candle. The *Chinelos*, in many cases fortified with alcohol, continue to leap around and around the *plaza*. Men too poor to belong to *com-*

[1] This word is probably from *Chino*, "Chinese", "foreign." When used in speaking Nahuatl it is Mexicanized as *Zinelohque*. The word *Huehuenches* is also used—from the Nahuatl *Huehuetzitzin*, "the old ones" (said with respect). It is said by some in Tepoztlán that the *Chinelos* represent the Pharisees "who denied Christ."

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*796 [794] In the morning the *mayordomo* of the Santo Entierro comes to the church with the men and boys whom he has asked to help him. Before the central altar they build a wooden platform covered with green boughs, and on it they erect four green trees. This is Calvary. A cross is laid ready. They also clean the gilt-and-glass coffin and place it on a litter near the platform. [794] [264] [262] Then they go to the house of the *mayordomo* for a meal which includes the Lenten dishes: fish, *guasoncle*,[1] sage tea, and lentils or lima beans.

[782] At three in the afternoon the rattle sounds from the roof of the church, which soon fills with people. After prayers the image of the Santo Entierro is borne to the front of the church and bound to the cross. Silver nails are inserted in the hands, and a silver crown of thorns is placed on the head. The cross is raised on Calvary. The *anxeltin* carry the figure of the Virgin up the aisle; it is placed at the foot of the cross. The [782] tall candles are placed beneath the images; copal is burned before them. Each woman worshiper kneeling [533] on the floor lights a candle. Musicians play a dirge. At about five o'clock in the evening the image is lowered from the cross and ceremonially washed with cotton. Then it is placed in the glass-walled coffin and borne in a procession around the atrium of the church. The procession moves slowly between two rows of women carrying lighted candles. While the same music [533] plays in the procession, a man with a small drum and another with a metal flute stand in one corner of

[1] A flat fried cake of eggs, cheese, tomatoes, and fat.

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the atrium and play quite different music—a single minor strain, over and over. [796* 533]

*Holy Saturday, Sabado de Gloria.*—When the priest is here, he blesses the water and the fire and then holds mass. Three candles are lighted on the water tank in the churchyard; he blesses the water while flowers are thrown into it. A new fire is kindled with flint and steel. People come with coals to kindle and carry home to light incense with. During mass Christ rises; the curtains are pulled down from the altars and the bells ring, not only in the Templo Mayor but also in the chapels. Rockets are discharged. Some eat meat that afternoon; others wait until Sunday. [372] [782] [541] [262]

*Easter Sunday, Domingo de Pascua.*—Everyone eats meat *tamales* on this day. In the afternoon the *Chinelos* leap once more, and there is *brincando al gusto* (i.e., anyone who wishes joins the leaping). The men drink alcohol again, and many get drunk. [535] [273]

*April 28.*—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Pedro. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of that chapel. 796* 533

*April 29.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of San Pedro. Besides the *chirimía*, the *teponaztli* (pre-Columbian wooden drum), owned by this *barrio*, is played on the roof of the chapel.[1] This is a fairly important *fiesta*. There are generally two religious dances: *Los Moros*, from the village of Santo Domingo, and *Los Danzantes*. *Los Danzantes* appear only at this *fiesta*. The little boys who dance it are drawn from all *barrios*, for 796* 535

[1] On the authority of only one informant.

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*796 San Pedro is too small to supply enough, but they are 535 instructed by a *maestro* in San Pedro. They wear em- [292] broidered skirts, silk neckerchiefs, and small paper crowns surmounted by a black ostrich-feather plume. They dance around a tall pole and in dancing interweave colored ribbons.[1] They do not sing.

*796 A *castillo del día* is burned; everyone of the *barrio* [541] eats *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[262] *April 30 and May 1.*—These days form the *castiyohpa* and the *cerahpa* of the *fiesta* just passed.

[794] *May 2.*—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa [533] Cruz on this day.

*May 3.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of Santa Cruz. It is not an important *fiesta*. There is a [541] *castillo de la noche* and of course the people of the [262] barrio eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

[778] This day is also the day on which crosses are raised at street corners, above water tanks, on conspicuous hills. The crosses are hung with flowers and copal is [333] burned before them. It is also the day specially de- [541] voted to the masons, who sometimes set off rockets to celebrate.[2]

132 The first of the rains have come now, occasional and 133 uncertain showers. Only at *Axihtla*, the cleft in the hills where arises the *barranca* of San Jeronimo, does fresh bright green appear, and in parts of the *barrio* of Santo Domingo, better watered than other regions.

[1] This "May Pole" is not necessarily European in origin. Sahagun refers to such a dance.

[2] The *fiesta* of the masons is generally celebrated in Mexico City.

[i.e. LOS DANZANTES of the fiesta of San Pedro - ANALYST]

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paper rosettes, wax flowers, and garlands of *chicaltzo*. People come into the church to light a candle at the altar and to hang a garland on it. Just outside the church under the *enramada* stand two rows of little girls, dressed in white with white crowns and bearing staffs adorned with bells and ribbons. They are *Las Pastoras*, and they strike their staffs on the flags and sing a traditional song of praise to El Señor de Ixcatepec.

In a wide circle at one side of the *enramada*, *Los Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago dance to their armadillo-shell guitars. At intervals they sing a song to *La Guadalupana*. There is the rattle of a small drum and the high note of a metal flute. *Los Moros* from Santo Domingo enter the churchyard gate. They come doing their little skipping step, to suggest men on horseback. The five Moors, with their helmets, flounced skirts, and black goggles, and the four Christians, in plumed hats and short skirts, weave back and forth in a double row, clashing *machetes* as they come. On the other side of the *enramada* they perform the acted and spoken drama of the struggle between the Moors and the Christians. This takes about five hours. Crowds of people watch them, and other crowds watch *Los Apaches* and *Las Pastoras*.

The sacred entertainment takes place within the churchyard; the secular entertainment is going on outside. There are several ballad-singers, each with his guitar and his attentive audience. Other men are gambling, squatted around the board. There are rows

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of booths at which are being sold fruit, cakes, notions, ices, drinks, green corn.[1] People have come from distant *pueblos* to sell the products of their domestic industry—little painted clay toys and whistles. At the gateway to the churchyard one may buy wax candles for the *santo*.

The *chirimía* is playing at the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo;* this is set off the evening of the first day.

*May 9–15.*—The remainder of the week is devoted to secular entertainment: cockfights, horse races, and three days of *toros*.

*June 11.*—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of La Santísima and with it plays the *teponaztli* owned by that *barrio*.

*June 12.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Santísima. It is not an important *fiesta*. The people of the *barrio* eat *mole verde* and *tamales*.

Now the rains have come. Every afternoon the clouds gather over the rim of the valley and the hills are hidden in a low roof of mist. The slopes run with cascades and jets of rain. The air is wet and soft. The ground, long dry and barren, is covered with bright green, and every cranny in the rocks has its unrolling fern.

The rains are brought by the *ahuahque*,[2] "the lords of the rain." They hurl the thunderbolts; the stone beads and spindle whorls one picks up were thrown by

[1] Brought from lower altitudes where it is already ripe.

[2] The *ahuahque* are also referred to as *tlatlatcuapone*, "those who thunder," and as *tlapetani*, "those who cause lightning."

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821 776 [172] [301] them from the sky. They covet gold; now that the rains have begun and the voices of the *ahuahque* are frequently heard, women who most fear them take off their gold earrings for fear that the *ahuahque* might strike them dead so as to take the jewels.

243 [221] People are busy now, and contented. There is work for all the men in the *milpas*. The ground is prepared with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very stony earth there are a few steel plowshares. Oxen, less commonly horses or mules, draw the plow. By now the corn is a foot high up at San Juan, but in Tepoztlán a hotter sun demands that the maize be planted after the rains have come. By the middle of June most of the *milpas* are planted. At San Juan the grain is [184] dropped into holes made with a pointed stick. In Tepoztlán it is dribbled along in furrows; afterward the earth is heaped up around the young plant with the *coa*, the flat hoe with a curved blade.

*796 [533] *June 15.*—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the Templo Mayor because tomorrow is the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi.

[439] [484] *In May or June.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of Corpus Christi, *Jueves de corpos*. Some go to Yautepec or to Cuernavaca to buy little *burros* made of straw bearing crates of fruits and sweets.

[776] *July 22.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the hamlet of Amatlán. (This is the saint day of Mary Magdalene, patron of this village.)

[535] *July 25.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the village of Santiago. *Los Apaches* dance at both these *fiestas*.

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*August 4.*—The *fiesta* of the village of Santo Domingo takes place on this date. *Los Moros* dance before their own *santo.*

*August 5.*—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa Cruz.

*August 6.*—The *chirimía* continues to play in Santa Cruz; it is the *fiesta* of San Salvador, the patron saint of the *barrio.*

*September 8* (*about*).—Today is *Altepe-ilhuitl* ("*fiesta* of the *pueblo*"), commemorative of El Tepozteco, the legendary eponymous king of the Tepoztecos in the days before the Conquest. Men enact the successful defense of the temple on the cliff against the seven attacking towns of the valley. In the late afternoon a tall wooden tower is built in the *plaza.* This represents the *teocalli.* On this climbs a man representing El Tepozteco and others taking the parts of his fighting men. They wear red-and-yellow tunics and feather headdresses. They beat drums and the *tepcnaztli.* Seven men, riding on seven *burros*, come to attack the *teocalli* and are driven off with arrows. El Tepozteco delivers a traditional defiance in Nahuatl, and the attackers reply with similar set speeches.[1]

*September 28.*—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel of San Miguel, and the women of that *barrio* grind corn for the *tamales;* tomorrow is their *fiesta.*

*September 29.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Miguel.

[1] See Carleton Beals' article in *Mexican Life.*

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the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.

*December 7.*—The *chirimía* plays on the Templo Mayor; this, with the ringing of the bells, announces that tomorrow will be the *fiesta* of La Virgen Purísima.

*December 8.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Virgen Purísima. The *chirimía* plays again. At dawn rockets are set off in the churchyard. This is not an important *fiesta*. There are special masses when the priest is there. In the afternoon mothers bring their little girls, dressed in white as for a confirmation, with white crowns on their hair, to the Templo Mayor. Each child offers a bouquet of flowers to the Virgin.[1]

*December 11.*—The *chirimía* plays again.

*December 12.*—This is the day of the *fiesta* of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The usual *chirimía*, bells, and rockets celebrate the *fiesta*. This is not an important *fiesta* in Tepoztlán, although the Virgin of Guadalupe is the patron of the Indians of Mexico. Some from Tepoztlán go to the great celebration at Guadalupe.

The attention of the community is focused on the harvest. Almost every man is working in the fields. The carpenter neglects his bench, the iron worker his forge. The corn factors have arranged counters in the doors of their houses. There they receive the corn as it is brought them, measuring it out in small wooden

[1] They do this again in May (the *mes de María*); and in June little boys bring flowers to the *Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*.

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[438] scoops, paying perhaps eight or nine *centavos* a *cuar-*
[435] *tillo.*

By the third week in December the fields below the
[221] town are still and empty. The last loads carried by
[244] the *burros* are of round green squashes, grown among
[231] the corn. Into some fields the cattle are turned to forage. Above the town, where the fields ripen later, the harvesting continues, but the work is on the wane.

*796 There is time to rest now, and enjoy the Christmas
[177] *fiestas.* Preparations are under way. In many houses, particularly in those nearest the *plaza*, where Spanish influence is strongest and where there may be a little money to spend, the nine *posadas* are celebrated as they are celebrated all over Mexico. By this time the matrons of the neighborhood have arranged in whose house will take place each of the nine *fiestas.* Nine women will take turns as hostess, dividing the responsibility and the expense. Someone has gone to
[437] Oacalco for sugar cane, to Yautepec for peanuts. The
[484] women are making little paper baskets (*alcartazes*) to hold candies and peanuts.

[868] It is not in one of the larger houses near the *plaza*
[533] that boys are learning to sing the songs of *Los Pas-*
*tores.* In the yard of a smaller, more Indian house in some street off the *plaza* a score or more of boys are seated on the ground learning the songs from a *maestro* who is the repository of this local tradition.

[794] The *mayordomos*, with their assistants, decorate the
[782] chapels with flowers and cedar boughs and colored
[439] tissue paper. People cut branches of poinsettia, now

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very abundant, and bring them to Mexico City for sale. 796* [439]

*December 16.*—The first of the *posadas* takes place on this date. At dusk the flare and boom of rockets [541] make known the houses where the *fiestas* will be celebrated. Little groups of youths and men drift to the wall, to laugh and whisper and stare over the wall. The first part of the *fiesta* is religious, and it is not good form for men outside the family to take part. Behind the wall Mary and Joseph seek a lodging for the night. A candle-lit procession, bearing on a litter small wax and paper figures of the Holy Family, waits outside the door. The ritual dialogue is repeated; the wayfarers, begging admittance, are challenged from within. It is all done gravely and with feeling; no one relaxes his serious attention. At last the door opens; the procession passes into the house. As the candles pass one by one into the house the yard darkens while the glow now streams out of the cracks in the door. The men move closer to the door.

Inside the matron of the house leads the prayers [782] and responses. The images are placed behind candles, as at an altar. All the women remain kneeling, repeating the prayers. Suddenly the prayers cease, to give [533] way to the gay *piñata* song.

The ritual of worship ends; the ritual of play begins. The door opens; some of the men go in. The mistress of the house distributes the *alcartazes*. Everyone is [262] given a handful of sugar-cane joints, another of *tejocotes*, another of peanuts. The party goes out again

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into the yard; there is no procession now; people talk and laugh. A pottery jar, an *olla*, hung with tissue-paper streamers, is suspended about seven feet from the ground. This is the *piñata*. The smallest children, blindfolded, are first given a chance to break the *piñata* with a stick. They are turned about to confuse their sense of direction. Too good an aim is at first discouraged; a proper climax must be reached. When at last the jar is broken the children scramble in the dust for the scattered candies.

*December 16–24.*—The festal feeling grows during the nine nights of the *posadas*. The few gasoline street lamps, purchased by some of the neighborhoods, usually left dark, are burning in the street corners. More people are in the streets now after nightfall. The fireworks-makers are busy, selling the rockets they have been making for the *fiestas*. Every evening, in half-a-dozen places in the village, sheaves of light burst suddenly into the night. Some of the chapels are open; women come to pray or to light another candle. In the chapel of La Santísima, and perhaps in that of Santa Cruz, two *barrios* where Catholic religious ritual is most likely to be observed, there are *posadas* which the *mayordomo* of the *santo* has arranged. Then the procession moves slowly around the churchyard to the "old music." Mary and Joseph seek a lodging at the door of the chapel; admitted, the effigies are carried up to the altar. The prayers are said, and, as elsewhere, when the *piñata* song is sung, men who have been waiting outside the churchyard come in. The

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prayers give way to play; the temple becomes the scene of a party.

*December 23.*—Pilgrims pass through Tepoztlán on their way to the shrine at Chalma. They carry staffs surmounted by the cross, or baskets of food; some bear flutes and drums. Some sing *alabados* ("chants of praise") as they go. They pause in houses along their road to rest and gossip. At midnight a few from Tepoztlán take the road for Chalma.

*December 24.*—This is *la Noche Buena*. In the morning women come to the market place to sell *tetzmixochitl*. There are two kinds, red[1] and yellow.[2] This is the only day in the year when these flowers are sold. They are used to prepare the altar at which at midnight the newborn Christ—a small doll—is put to bed. He is the "child God" (*el niño Dios*), "the divine child" (*teopiltzintli*). Girls and women buy these flowers; with these and cedar boughs the shrine is made. At night, after the last *posada*, people do not go to bed. There are lights in many houses; the chapels remain open. At midnight, in some homes and chapels, the Christ child is laid in his cradle behind the candles lit to him. The women kneel and sing the traditional lullaby.[3]

Before midnight people are out in the streets, waiting for *Los Pastores*. The festal feeling has accumulated; everyone is intent on the midnight ceremonies.

[1] *Sedum dendroicum* Moc. and Sessi.

[2] *Sedum sp.*

[3] Printed in *Mexican Folkways*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Dec.–Jan., 1926).

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*796 The boys gather at the house of the *maestro* who
533 taught them. From there a sound of singing comes,
● and the jingling of bells. Up the rocky street appears
[373] a light—many lights. Five or six globes of illumination shift and swing against the blackness. Some are stars, some are crescents. The singing grows louder. "Here come the stars of brilliant light, bearing the
[539] news that Jesus now is born."

Vienen las estrellas con brillante luz
Dando las noticias ya nació Jesús.

[292] Each boy wears a cloth bound over his head and hanging down the back. Each carries a staff of bells, and these staffs beat the measure of the music on the cobbles. The candles within the tissue-paper stars,
[373] borne on poles, cast a faint illumination for their feet. Followed by a crowd of people, the globes of light pass slowly across the *plaza*, through the gate of the churchyard up to the door of the church. The church, for a year a place of silence, rings with sudden echoes. The singers move up to the altar, banging their staffs on the flags. The people following drop to their knees. Under the cross *Los Pastores* halt. They continue shouting the song, banging the staffs, until almost dawn.

*December 31.*—Tomorrow will be the *fiesta of* Santa María de Tepoztlán. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the Templo Mayor. The *cohetero* is completing the
*796 *castillo* to be burned for the *fiesta*.
541 Some people discharge rockets at midnight to usher in the New Year.

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When a child dies, the bell is tolled in the chapel of the *barrio* in which it lived. The body is laid out on a table [or bed] and is covered with flowers. Candles burn at the head. A crown of paper flowers is often placed on the head, and a bunch of such flowers in the clasped hands. Food—often merely bread and milk—is placed near the head. The bereaved parents invite their friends to come share their sorrow. Musicians are hired and play all night following the death, while the intimate circle sit close beside the body conversing. The music is gay—the music of march or song. The women remain in or near the house. Outside, with the musicians, remain the less favored men. These drink a great deal; many are quite drunk by morning. There is much laughing, shouting, and quarreling.

Burial usually takes place the next day, most often at about three in the afternoon. All burials take place in the cemetery, which is about a mile east of Tepoztlán. Before the funeral procession starts, the body is clothed in a white-satin shroud. On the bare feet are tied paper sandals, often gilded. A small painted gourd, to symbolize the water-carrier, may be placed with the body. The body is placed in the coffin, but the lid is not put on. The coffin is painted red and gold. The litter is decorated with bright-colored flowers, and these are strewn before the procession as it enters the churchyard. The party consists of the friends and relatives, and the musicians, who continue to play cheerful airs. The mother carries a candle, to be lighted at the grave. When the priest is there, prayers are read in the church. If he is away, the procession passes through the churchyard, up to the door of the church and away, before going to the cemetery. At the grave, if there is no priest, no ritualistic acts are performed. The bodies are placed in crypts; as they crumble away, room is made for others. Refreshments may be taken at the cemetery before the people turn back.

When an adult dies, no flowers are used. The body is clad in black and white. Black paper is used to decorate the bier; the candles burned are black. The coffin is black, and the lid is nailed on before the procession starts. The music played is a dirge. Sometimes the bell in the chapel strikes the hours with

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double strokes until the funeral. Some families maintain an older custom, when an adult dies, of singing traditional funeral chants [*alabados*] during the night of vigil before interment.

A week after the death of adult or child, food is set out for the soul to come and get before it then sets out for the land of the dead. The eating of this food the following day may be a ceremonial occasion, with friends asked in to share the eating and drinking.

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primitive community that Tepoztlán once was, and the other of which represents the part of modern urbanized society that it is becoming.

An enumeration of Tepoztecan specialists is not an enumeration of an equal number of individuals; it scarcely need be pointed out that many individuals practice more than one specialty. Some special functions, as those of the musicians, are very occasional. It is noteworthy that in most cases it is a *correcto* who exercises more than one special function.

E. V. was born and brought up in Tepoztlán. His family were by tradition those who made masks for the carnival, and he continues to exercise this function. When a youth he learned the trade of a mason. Later he went to Mexico City. There he learned woodcarving and gilding; these occupations he occasionally practices now that he is back in Tepoztlán. In Mexico City he was for a time a street-car motorman. Now, returned to Tepoztlán, he has a minor position in the municipal government. Occasionally he functions as mason, woodcarver, or gilder, and during the proper season makes masks for the carnival. He also tills his ancestral *milpa*.

L. V. lives in the house where he was born. During the revolution he went to Mexico City and remained there seven years. While there he learned shoemaking. Either there or in Tepoztlán he also learned the mason's trade. Now, back in Tepoztlán, he has a cobbler's shop, occasionally works as a mason, and is also sometimes called upon as a musician. He tills his cornfield also.

The following inventory of specialists is probably not quite complete, either as to the number of occupations represented or as to the number of individuals practicing a given occupation.

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463 houses of *adobe* or stone covered with *mezcla*.[1] The tools are European, except the *coa*,[2] the old agricultural hoe which masons [333] sometimes use to mix *mezcla*. The cost of bringing in cement [347] practically eliminates concrete work. One mason learned his trade in Mexico City, another in Tepoztlán, and a third from a North American railway engineer who employed him as a common laborer to assist in building culverts on the railway near El Parque.

[324] Two ironworkers: These men make *machetes* and incidental ironwork. Information is lacking as to their history.

[256] Six bakers: In the case of two, the trade was learned in a larger city; information is lacking on the others. Each does his [439] baking in a domed *adobe* oven of early Spanish pattern, built in his own houseyard. Wheat flour is imported from the city. Wild [252] yeast is used. The dough is put into the oven on wooden paddles. [369] Many of the special types of bread recognized in the cities are made here too.

[326] Silversmiths: Although these specialists are referred to by this name [*plateros*], and although they do occasional work in silver,[3] they are the odd-job men of Tepoztlán. Each operates a small homemade forge, and is equipped with workbench, vises, punches, soldering implements, etc. They do construction and repair work in metal; repair watches, phonographs, and what little other machinery there is in Tepoztlán. One picked up most of his knowledge while in Mexico City.

[305] Five barbers: This occupation is distinctly an occasional one. The equipment is no more than a razor and shears.

[533] An indeterminable number of musicians. Many men—women rarely—play musical instruments. Sometimes permanent organi-

[1] A mixture of lime and sand.

[2] Already described on p. 50.

[3] Usually silver ritualistic paraphernalia for the church.

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zations are formed which assume a public function. A band of musicians of San Andres are frequently called upon to play at funerals or weddings. During 1927 "the new orchestra" was organized at Tepoztlán. This was composed of young men, mostly *correctos*, who played "modern" pieces, on Sundays or holidays, to entertain the townspeople. The "old orchestra" is a musical organization of quite another sort. This is composed of four older men who know the traditional music used for the *posadas* and for certain of the religious dances. They play chiefly ritual music, not current compositions. Funeral music is of an intermediate type; the "old orchestra" plays at funerals too. The *chirimiteros* are not regarded as musicians; they will be referred to later.

With the musicians this list grades off into specialties that are so casual, so little differentiated, so easily taken on and put off, that it is difficult to name the specialists. Such are the *arrieros*, the men who own mules or horses and haul goods from the railway to the town, chiefly for the merchants; the charcoal-burners and woodcutters; the men who keep and milk cows and the women who sell the milk; and the women who sell *camotes*. Anyone may engage in these occupations occasionally; a few devote themselves to one or another.

There are likewise a considerable number of persons who stand ready to supply some special need, although the fulfilling of this function plays a very minor rôle in their lives. One woman keeps *metates*, bought in some city and held for resale; several keep a stock of herbs; one of the shoemakers keeps a few commercial drugs. A casual acquaintance of the town gives an impression of very little differentiation, but closer familiarity shows that in any need, even an un-

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463 usual need, there is always someone who is expected
[438] to step into a special rôle and exercise a special function for that crisis.

In general, the specialists of the sorts just listed are
[565] *correctos*. But there are other specialists that seem to fall into another class, to represent a different type of specialization of function. The specialists of this second class are, in the main, *tontos*. These are:

[759] Thirteen [perhaps more] herb-doctors [S. *curanderas;* N. *tepahtiani*]: With one exception, a man up in Los Reyes, these are women. They have a command of the folk knowledge of medicine. They are called upon in sicknesses of any seriousness. A large part of their technique is the preparation and administering of herbal remedies.[1]

[759] Ten [perhaps more] midwives [S. *partera;* N. *amantecatl*]:
[844] These are always women. There is no case in the materials of a midwife who is also an herb-doctor. The specialties are quite distinct.[2] They are called in to attend all births. Their technique has been described in the preceding chapters.

[533] Three *chirimiteros:* These men play the traditional strain of music on the roofs of chapels and in the yards of the *mayordomos* at *fiestas* celebrating *santos*. None of them are young men. The act is entirely ritualistic. There is no pay but food and drink. Most *chirimiteros* carve their own *chirimías* out of *zopilote* wood. This is also a special technique.

[794] Two [or three?] *huehuechihque:* These are men who know the traditional words used in summoning people to pay their contribution for the *santos*, and those used in thanking them when

[1] In asking if a woman sets herself up as an herb-doctor, the phrase is *Sabe hervir?* ("Does she know how to boil?")

[2] There is also some evidence that some *curanderas* specialize in certain diseases.

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212 [204] comes regularly. A newspaper costs one-tenth of a daily wage, and when a copy does come to the village there are only a few *correctos* who read it.

Literacy, a technique of communication bestowed by civilization, is not largely used in enabling the Tepoztecos to take over the experience of other groups. With *los tontos*, at least, the exploration of books ends with the brief schooling. But, by those who possess it, a knowledge of reading and writing is much exercised in the everyday affairs of life: in making business entries, in writing letters,[1] in recording the contributions for the *santos*. And, finally, the songs [533] composed in the valley are often reduced to writing.

538 For there is a local literature. As with all folk peoples there are songs, stories, and legends that are a part of the tradition of this particular community. Among primitive peoples such songs and stories are orally transmitted. They are definitely traditional, and individual composition of entirely new examples is relatively infrequent. Such traditional songs and stories—"folk lore" in the narrowest sense—exist in Tepoztlán. There is a group of tales centering around "El Tepozteco,"[2] the legendary "king" of the people of Tepoztlán. There are stories of animals. Such have been frequently collected in Mexico, and some indeed [177] in Tepoztlán.[3] Whatever aboriginal elements exist in

[1] During 1927 about a dozen letters a day arrived at Tepoztlán, and as many left. About half were business letters.

[2] See p. 26.

[3] Franz Boas, "Notes on Mexican Folklore"; "The Coyote and the Opossum," *Mexican Folkways*.

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such tales are overlaid by many European and perhaps African elements. 538 [177]

If the purpose of the present study had been to rescue disappearing elements of a more primitive culture, it would have been indicated to collect materials of this sort. But these older, traditional folk tales do not constitute the songs and stories of meaning and significance to the Tepoztecos. A few people tell these stories, usually to children. This body of folk lore is passing through the nursery to oblivion. It is no longer vital; it does not enter into the important social situations in Tepoztlán.

There are, however, many songs and some stories of local provenience and of local reference which are of great importance in the life of the Tepoztecans. 533 538 Their character reflects the character of Tepoztecan culture; they are halfway between the songs and tales of a primitive tribe and the tales and songs of a city people. They are only in part traditional; the most important of them are self-conscious compositions, enduring only while fashionable. Only in part do they pass orally from singer to singer; they tend to rely upon writing for circulation and for perpetuation. They are sung by adults for adults;[1] they are the invariable concomitant of all important social occasions in Tepoztlán; and, most important of all, they express the wishes and the ideals of the contemporary people. They constitute the real literature of Tepoztlán.

[1] With the exception of some ritual songs, which are sung by children in public ceremonies.

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533 For these reasons an attempt was made to collect such songs. Because of circumstances to be described [114] it was difficult to obtain the ritual songs; those obtained are no more than a sample. The social songs of ballad type that were collected, on the other hand, probably include nearly all of this sort locally produced and in current favor at the time of the investigation.[1] A collection resulted of twenty-seven songs, including almost two thousand lines.

The songs in this collection easily fall into two very different types, which correspond in general with a distinction between public and private music. The songs of the former group are the traditional chants that accompany some of the religious dances. All local public songs today in Tepoztlán are a part of the ceremonies of the church. They have their prose complement in the *relaciónes*, the texts spoken to accompany *Los Moros*, the religious dance-drama previously described.[2] These ritual songs are entirely anonymous

[126] [1] The writer first began to take down songs as he heard them sung. Later he found that one of the two best-known singers in Tepoztlán knew all the songs in current use. Some he had written down in a copy-book; some he dictated to the writer. At many later social occasions the writer never heard sung a local song which he had not already recorded from the collection of this one leading singer. There is no question as to the local nature of the songs. The ritual songs are used only for certain local ceremonies. The ballad songs that are local are notorious. Not only do they often contain local terms and references, but the music of northern Morelos is apparently of a distinct type. On hearing a few measures [177] a singer will exclaim, "Oh, that is entirely *morelense*." Besides the local songs many songs imported from other parts of Mexico are sung.

[536] [2] The prose text accompanying *Los Moros* was not collected. The many versions throughout Mexico are similar. One is printed in Gamio, *La población del valle de Teotihuacan*, II, 333 ff. *Relaciónes*, some in Spanish and some in Nahuatl, from a *pueblo* in Morelos, are published in Elfego Adan, art., "Las

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and probably in most cases ancient. They were probably written by early priests and especially devout natives. They are fixed and permanent. They change little, and new examples do not readily appear. Their tendency is, no doubt, to diminish, as elements of ritual are lost. Often they are in the keeping of only a few, even a single, individual. When the time comes to instruct a group of singers in these songs, such a *maestro* teaches them orally, line by line. There is some reluctance to expose their content casually; they tend to become somewhat esoteric. They are traditional, sacred, ceremonial, public; in meaning they are one with the mass, with religious responses. But they are entirely local, not in type, for the type is widespread, but in specific content.

They are religious hymns of praise of the type generally known as *alabanzas*.[1] The object of adoration is the Christ, Mary, the cross, or a particular *santo*. Some rehearse the episodes involving the birth of Jesus; others describe the Passion. Often the phraseology is taken from Catholic liturgy. But the songs sung by *Los Pastores*, the boys who dance and sing on Christmas Eve and on Twelfth Night, employ a more spontaneous language of naïve poetry. A few stanzas

danzas de Coatetelco," pp. 135–94. The prose text accompanying the ritual of "El Tepozteco," recited on the day Altepe-ilhuitl, is apparently the only traditional public text not connected with the church.

[1] Like the secular ephemeral songs about to be described, local *alabanzas* are sometimes printed on cheap leaflets. A collection of such hymns is described in Mariano Silva y Aceves, art., "La colección folklorico de la biblioteca del Museo Nacional," pp. 269–320. See also Nuñez y Dominguez, art., "The Alabado and Alabanzas," pp. 12–17.

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533 from the song of *Los Pastores* of Santo Domingo will
539 sufficiently indicate the character of this type.

| | |
|---|---|
| Abran los caminos | Open the roads |
| Que ahí vienen pastores, | For here come shepherds, |
| Y vienen sembrando | And they come sowing |
| Semillas de flores. | Seeds of flowers. |
| | |
| Adiós, María hermosa, | Farewell, Mary beautiful, |
| La niña mas bella | Most beautiful child |
| Que nos da esta luz, | Who gives us this light, |
| Cuadrada la estrella. | Perfect the star. |
| | |
| Corre, borreguito, | Run, little lamb, |
| Desde la ladera, | From the slope, |
| Cortame una rosa | Cut me a rose |
| De la primavera. | Of spring. |
| | |
| Hermosa mañana, | Beautiful morning, |
| Que lindos colores, | What pretty colors, |
| Que vientos de flores, | What flowery breezes, |
| Que plácido olor. | What mild fragrance. |
| | |
| El chivito dijo, | The little goat said, |
| Ya Jesús nació, | Now Jesus is born, |
| "Gloria," van diciendo, | "Glory," they are saying, |
| "Bendito sea Dios." | "Blessed be the Lord." |

As with the secular songs, usually two lines are sung twice, and then two more lines, after which the entire
533 quatrain is sung again. To sing in this way all of the
796 four-line stanzas (one hundred and thirty-six in all) of the *alabanzas* addressed to the *santo* of Ixcatepec takes several hours. These verses are sung on May 8, when is celebrated the *fiesta* of that village. The girls (*Las Pastoras*) who sing the song are from Tepoztlán as well as Ixcatepec. There are seven parts to the song. The music, which is traditional and played by

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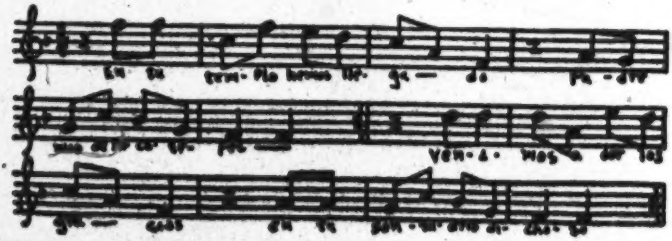
*los músicos viejos*, changes for each part.[1] One part is sung outside the church, another on entering, a third at the altar, and other parts are sung when *Las Pastoras* leave the church. On the occasion when this singing was observed an older girl at the head of the double line of girls had a written copy of the song.[2] She gave out two lines, which were sung by all twice; then she gave out two more lines. The song begins:

| | |
|---|---|
| En tu templo hemos llegado, | Into thy temple have we come, |
| Padre mío de Ixcatepec, | My Father of Ixcatepec, |
| Venimos a dar las gracias | We come to give thanks |
| En tu santuario dichoso. | In thy happy sanctuary. |
| | |
| Christo milagroso, | Miraculous Christ, |
| Todo de angeles rodeado, | All surrounded by angels, |
| Gracias te damos, padre mío, | We give thee thanks, my father, |
| En tu santuario dichoso. | In thy happy sanctuary. |

Most of the stanzas are taken up with repeated adoration of the *santo*, and with rehearsing, in phraseology largely taken from the New Testament, the de-

[1] This is not the place to give the musical record (which is only partly complete). But the music accompanying the first part indicates the general character.



[2] From this and another existing written version (the two did not differ much) the text was obtained.

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533 tails of the crucifixion. This narration is interrupted
539 with paeans of praise. The appeal is now to Mary, now to Christ. But it is this particular image that is venerated.

| | |
|---|---|
| Son milagros que has hecho | They are miracles which thou hast performed |
| Porque eres muy poderoso, | Because thou art very powerful, |
| Santo Cristo milagroso, | Holy miraculous Christ, |
| El Señor de Ixcatepec. | The Lord of Ixcatepec. |
| Pues eres nuestro consuelo, | Indeed, thou art our guide, |
| Señor de Ixcatepec, | Lord of Ixcatepec, |
| Y que nos lleves al cielo, | And may thou bear us to heaven, |
| A gozar eternamente. | To find eternal enjoyment. |
| Tu has querido este templo | Thou hast desired this temple |
| [Para] adorarte, y dejaste | That we adore thee, and thou hast left us |
| La imagen para adorarlo, | The image to adore it, |
| De tu eximia bondad. | In thy exceeding goodness. |

In the closing stanzas a long farewell is taken of the temple and its contents until the next year when *Las Pastoras* will come again to sing. The singers bid separate farewells to the church, the altar, the throne on the altar, the cross, the burial ground within the church walls, the bells in the tower, the hanging lamp. Each detail of the image is separately addressed.

| | |
|---|---|
| Adiós, rostro ensangretado, | Farewell, bleeding countenance, |
| Ya nos vamos ausentar, | Now we take our departure, |
| Adiós, corona de espinas, | Farewell, crown of thorns, |
| Echanos tu bendición. | Give us thy blessing. |
| Adiós, manitas divinas, | Farewell, divine little hands, |
| De Jesús tan lastimado, | Of Jesus, so tormented, |
| Adiós, llagas del costado, | Farewell, wounds in the side, |
| Abiertas por mi delito. | Opened by my sin. |

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Before turning to the group of ephemeral songs, mention should be made of the *mañanitas*. These are songs of serenade, sung by the party of friends and relatives who, at dawn, come to the house of a friend, whose birthday it is, bringing gifts of flowers and food. This custom is general throughout Mexico, and many of the accompanying songs are traditional. They are private ritual songs as contrasted with the songs of public ritual just described; and they are secular rather than sacred. They are of one general type. Reference is made to the coming of morning; the natal day of the person celebrated is hailed; the gifts are announced. The one most commonly used is widely known in Mexico,[1] but there is at least one local *mañanita* in Nahuatl.[2]

The only lullaby encountered in Tepoztlán is the *rorro* song,[3] which is ritually used when the figure of

[1] Words and music are published in *Mexican Folkways*, III, No. 2 (1917), 101. *Mañanitas* of this type are published in Gamio, *op. cit.*, II, 399, and in *Mexican Folkways*, II, No. 2 (1926), 27.

[2] This is as follows:

*Xi-iza, tlahtlachia, yotlanez,*
Awake, open thy eyes, now it is dawn,
*xihualehua, xihualehua, xicuelique noanimantzin,*
come, come, to receive my soul,
*ihuan noyollo ihuancenta macuochitl*
and my heart and a branch of flowers
*xancualhuzin timitzhuiquilitz ipan nin huei*
very pretty which I bring thee on this great
*motonal. Axcan yenia; xipaqui, xihuetzca.*
day [of thy *santo*]. Now I go; be happy, smile.

[3] This is in general use in Mexico. Words and music are printed in *Mexican Folkways*, II, No. 5 (1926), 42. In a large collection of Peruvian folk songs not a single lullaby was encountered (R. and M. d'Harcourt, *La musique des Incas et ses survivances*, p. 169.

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Jesus is put to bed on Christmas Eve, and is also sometimes used by mothers in singing to their children.

In turning from the traditional songs to the ephemeral songs, one passes from the sacred to the secular, from the anonymous contributions to ritual to songs composed and sung by individuals for the sake of pleasure and of art. But, because songs of this type are constantly being made and sung and are then displaced by others, their popularity is determined by the run of current interest and they tend to reflect the interests and experiences of the group. For this reason they are of particular significance.

The ephemeral songs are of the type generally known as *corridos*,[1] a word generally translated "ballads" (lit., "that which is current"). But, at least in Tepoztlán, *corrido* properly designates a particular musical form; the *bola*, the *danza*, are other musical forms accompanying the general ballad type of song.

These songs are sung at almost any secular social gathering. Where guests are gathered to celebrate a birthday, outside the church wall at the *fiesta* of a *santo*, and on any casual occasion when men come socially together, as on street corners at night after work is done, these songs are sung. Everyone knows some of these songs; any man may sing them. But certain men have pre-eminence as singers, and on im-

[1] See K. A. Porter, art., "*Corridos*"; also Dr. Atl, *Las artes populares en Mexico* (Librería "Cultura," 1921), pp. 13 ff., 119–29. *Corridos* are published in *Mexican Folkways*, and many are obtainable on ordinary commercial phonograph records.

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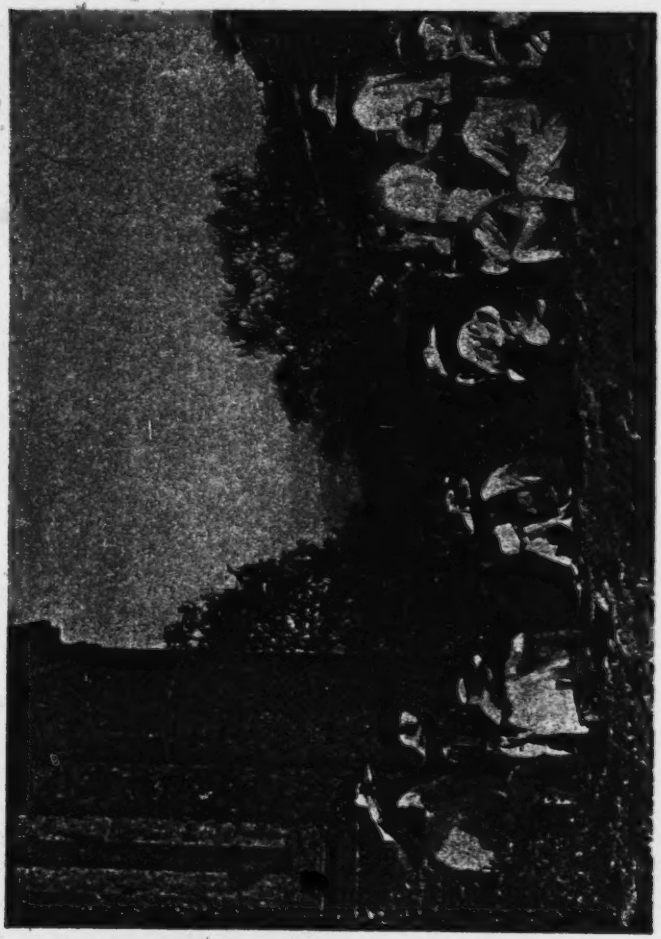

SANTA CATARINA: LISTENING TO *CORRIDOS*

[facing page 180]

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portant social occasions it is these men who do the singing; lesser persons would not presume. Women do not sing them publicly, and women are not obviously present at gatherings where they are sung; just as they do not ordinarily eat with men on social occasions. 533 [562]

The songs are usually sung by two men, one of whom plays the accompaniment on a guitar. When the song is ended, little or no approval is indicated. When a number of songs have been sung by one couple, the guitar is offered to some other recognized singer. Such a spontaneous program of music may continue for many hours with no repetition of songs. Some songs have persisted for many years; few last that long. Some that are sung in Tepoztlán have originated in distant parts of Mexico and have become widely popular, but many were composed in northern Morelos. It is these truly local songs which are the subject of the following comment. [177]

Two subjects, everywhere popular, predominate: love and war. The love songs much less directly express the interests of the people, because most of them are highly conventional. The title of such a song is almost invariably the name of a girl to whom the song is addressed. Such songs are supposed to originate as real love songs, composed by a lover and actually sung to his lady. But it would appear, although not conclusively, that in Tepoztlán such an origin is usually fictitious; and certainly these love songs are ordinarily sung by men to men in any social gathering.

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533 They are highly stereotyped, and appear to be merely
539 a conventional art form. The singer ordinarily begins by getting the lady's attention:

| | |
|---|---|
| Escucha un momento, Porfiria de mi alma, | Harken, a moment, Porfiria of my soul, |
| Te ruego por compasión, | I beg thee, in compassion, |
| Para que tu calmes el amor ardiente | Quiet the burning love |
| Que inflama mi corazón. | That consumes my heart. |

Almost always the attitude assumed is one of melancholy, of hopeless desire.

| | |
|---|---|
| Que triste es quererte tanto, | How sad to love thee so |
| Y a no volverse [a] amar, | And not to love each other again, |
| Que después de amores, llanto, | That after love, tears, |
| Sumergido a padecer. | Drowned in suffering. |
| | |
| En el panteón del olvido | In the graveyard of forgetfulness |
| Dale sepulcro a mi querer, | Give burial to my longing, |
| Y negar que te he querido | And to deny that I have loved you |
| Te lo pido, por favor. | I ask thee, as a favor. |

533 The body of such songs as these is largely taken up with praises of the lady's charms. This praise is as conventional as it is extravagant. She is lovelier than the angels. Adam would have left Eden if he had glimpsed her. The lover would build a throne so he might place her on it and before her prostrate himself. The ornamental figures are elements taken from familiar sacred literature—angels, cherubs, Paradise—and a few names from the classics, such as Diana and Venus. The similes in a more sophisticated society would be *clichés*. Her lips are always like rubies; her

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brow is almost regularly compared to the rising sun. 533
A well-liked stanza praising Porfiria in such terms appears again almost unchanged in a different song addressed to Concha.

| | |
|---|---|
| Esos tus chinitos que adornan tu frente | Those curls of thine which adorn thy brow [539] |
| Me roban el pensamiento, | Rob me of thought, |
| Parece que miro el sol del oriente | It seems that I behold the rising sun |
| Cada vez que los contemplo. | Each time that I look upon them. |

These love songs are expressive only in that they reflect the degree of sophistication of the group. The form and the poetic mood are not indigenous, are not [177] a growth of the soil; they are borrowed. They have become a conventional art form in Tepoztlán. They are the more naïve forerunners of the sentimental song of city civilization.

From this form only three or four love songs in the present collection depart. One describes the competition of a rich man and a poet for the hand of a lady. In another the lover tells his lady that in loving her he is forced to break the Ten Commandments. Only one 533 love song in the group is told not in the stilted lan- 539 guage of a formal poetry but in the true vernacular. It is a dialogue between a man of the people and a girl of the people. They are both, it is clear, *tontos*. He woos her not with the artificial flowers of a borrowed metaphor but with the promises and in the terms of Tepoztlán. Nahuatl phrases are used.

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533 Yo vide[2] un naturalito
Que a su indita la paró
539 En un lugar tan solito,
Que de amores le trató.
Observé las palabritas
Que la decía, no sé que,

"*Xinechmaca* tu boquita
Para que yo besaré."
Y le respondió la indita:

"*Amo, amo*, Juan Jusé."

I saw a "child of nature"
Who stopped his Indian love
In a place quite solitary,
Which was just right for love.
I noticed the little words
Which he said to her, I don't know what,

"Give me your mouth
That I may kiss you."
And the little Indian answered him:

"No, no, Juan José."

There are eight stanzas. He begs her to yield.

"Selo compraré en seguida
Tus zapatos con tacón,
Tus 'naguas con brillantina,
Que parescas de sazón,
Tus arillos, tu mascada,

Con tu tapalo café,
Si lo admites, prenda amada,
Todo telo compraré."
La indita tiró una risada,
"¡Qué chistoso es Ju- Jusé!"

"I will buy you right away
Your shoes with heels,
Your skirts with spangles,
That you may look just right,
Your earrings, your silk handkerchief,

With your brown shawl,
If you will accept it, sweetheart,
I will buy it all for you."
The little Indian laughed,
"How funny is Juan José!"

She remains coy until he makes an improper advance, which draws from her invective, partly Spanish, partly Nahuatl.

"Mientras ti lo daré un real
Con tal tu amor me lo des,

'Hora que hay este lugar
De estar junto con ti."
"*Amo, amo*, Juan José,
*Zantiquitas*,[3] picarón,
Bonito quieres hacer?
Diablo, *nantzin*, barrigón!
Tu no tratas de buena fé,
Tratas de mala intención."

"Meanwhile I will give you a *real*
On condition that you give me your love,
Now that there is this chance
That I may possess you."
"No, no, Juan José,
Now you see, you rogue,
You want to do the right thing?
Devil, old woman, pot-belly,
You don't act in good faith,
You act with bad intent."

[2] Vulgar for *vi*.

[3] For *antan tiquitas*.

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There is a small group of songs written in the same stilted phraseology as the love songs addressed to the lady hopelessly loved, but with a different subject matter. These are songs addressed by singers to other singers. All these local ephemeral songs are written by men in or near the valley of Tepoztlán, and most of them by two or three men who enjoy reputations in northern Morelos as great poets.[1] One poet addresses a contemporary, or one recently dead, in a song of praise. In such songs the similes are again conventional: the guitar is referred to as a "lyre"; the composers are "nightingales." But these songs name the men recognized as *gran poetas* in the little world of these songs, and the intellectual self-sufficiency of the small community is unmistakable.

| | |
|---|---|
| Por todo el ámbito, Oacalco a Yautepec,[2] | Throughout all the circuit, Oacalco to Yautepec, |
| Es una gloria sus cantos al escuchar, | It is glorious to listen to your songs, |
| Muy entusiastas las ninfas con placer, | The nymphs, enthusiastic with pleasure, |
| Brindando aplausas a Guadalupe Beltran.[3] | Offering applause to Guadalupe Beltran. |

However conventional the language of songs of this type, they are of significance in describing the life of Tepoztlán, because they do embody actual memories that the people hold dear and they do enshrine local heroes. It is because the songs of war do just this that

[1] A singer generally composes the words, then tries them on his instrument and puts the music to them.

[2] A distance of about eight miles. Yautepec is fourteen miles from Tepoztlán.

[3] The singer honored.

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533 538 they are the most significant of all the songs. They are the songs that record and perpetuate events (*corridos*, in the sense in which that term is used generally in Mexico). In the cities of Mexico such songs report dramatic crimes or accidents as well as the events of war. This class of songs constitutes a sort of newspaper of the folk. Such songs from other communities come to Tepoztlán and are sung there along with the local *corridos*. But, in Tepoztlán, crime almost does not occur, and great accidents are rare; so the subject matter involves almost entirely the episodes and the heroes of the last great revolution. Dramatic incidents that happened near Tepoztlán, the local revolutionary leaders, the moods of pride and sorrow of revolutionary days, were made into music by Zapatista soldiers around their campfires; and now these memories of which the group is proud are revived and the values therein are redefined in the singing of the songs today. These songs are the real history-books of Tepoztlán, the cherry tree of their George Washington, and their Paul Revere's ride.

[203] [177] [674]

533 539 These ballads of revolution may conveniently be regarded as of three principal types: the soldier song, the political lampoon, and the narrative of a military exploit.

In the soldier song the Zapatista sings his life. There are no episodes, no personalities. The life of the *guerrilla* in the mountains itself speaks.

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539

| | |
|---|---|
| Soy rebelde del Estado de Morelos, | I'm a rebel of the state of Morelos, |
| Y que proclamo las promesas de San Luis,[1] | And I proclaim the promises of San Luis, |
| Soy rebelde y lucharé contra el gobierno, | I'm a rebel and I'll fight against the government, |
| Porque al fin nada llegada a complir. | Because in the end it has not fulfilled anything. |
| Con mi guincher, mi caballo y tres canañas, | With my Winchester, my horse and three cartridge belts, |
| Y descubro la virgen de Tepeyac,[2] | And I display the Virgin of Tepeyac, |
| Así que haré que respete el Plan de Ayala,[3] | So I will make respected the Plan of Ayala, |
| O que sucumba cual valiente liberal. | Or I perish as a valiant liberal. |
| Mi boluarte los montanes, y no lo niego, | My bulwark is the mountains, and I don't deny it, |
| Y mi nombre Zapatista lo ha de ser, | And my name Zapatista, it will ever be, |
| Ante un grupo de Carranclanes no me arredro, | Before a group of Carranzistas I don't draw back, |
| Siempre que tenga mi treinta-treinta he de prender. | If always I have my thirty-thirty right at hand. |
| Pero al fin si mi suerte no es adversa, | But whether in the end my lot is lucky, |
| O sucumba en el campo por desgracia, | Or I die on the field by mischance, |
| Moriré proclamando con firmeza,— | I shall die steadfastly proclaiming,— |
| ¡Vivan las fuerzas del sur! ¡Viva Zapata![4] | Long live the forces of the south! Long live Zapata! |

[1] The title of Madero's call for revolution (1910).

[2] The Virgin of Guadalupe.

[3] The title of Zapata's call for revolution (1911).

[4] The melody of the song just given will serve to illustrate the type of music of the secular song. [See music at foot of next page.]

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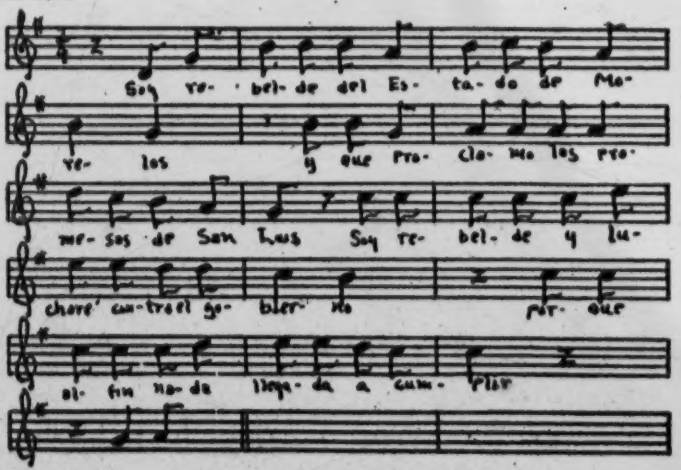
533 539 Another soldier song tells of the *guachas*—the camp-followers of the revolution. The mood is one of bitterness and scorn against those false women of Morelos who have given themselves to the Carranzistas instead of to the followers of Zapata.

Siendo contrarias a nuestra causa,
Los federales en la ocasión
Las de mi tierra sean vuelto guachas,
Hasta suspiran por un pelón,[2]
Como ellos tienen bastante plata,
Y a buen precio les dan su amor;
También ya dicen, "¡Muera Zapata!
¡Viva el gobierno que es lo mejor!"

Although they are enemies of our cause,
The federals on this occasion
The women of my land[1] have turned *guachas*,
And they even sigh for a trooper,
As those fellows have plenty of coin,
So they get a good price for their love;
Now they say too, "Down with Zapata!
Hurrah for the government which is the best!"


Soy re- bel- de del Es- ta- do de Mo-
re- los y que pro- cla- mo los pro-
me- sos de San Luis Soy re- bel- de y lu-
chare' con- tra el go- bier- no por- que
al- fin na- da lle- ga- da a cum- plir

[1] Morelos. [2] The federal soldiers were close shaven head and face.

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Of the eighty lines only eight more need be quoted here: 533 539

| | |
|---|---|
| Y si me niegan esas caricias | And if they deny me those caresses of theirs |
| Porque mi traje no es de rural, | Because my costume isn't that of a federal, |
| Pueden borrarme de su lista | They can scratch me off their list |
| Que por sentido no me he de dar. | And I will not take offense at that. |
| Mejor prefiero ser Zapatista | I'd rather be a Zapatista |
| Y no verdugo, cruel federal, | And not a beastly, cruel federal, |
| Que hombres sensibles la vida quitan | Let sensible men quit life |
| Cuando les llegan a derrotar. | When those fellows succeed in routing them. |

The type of political lampoon is illustrated by the "Corrido de Don Venustiano." In this, Carranza, the protagonist of Zapata, is mockingly addressed by the singing Zapatista.

| | |
|---|---|
| El señor don Venustiano quería ser respetado | Mr. Don Venustiano wanted to be respected |
| Como un gran veterano de nuestra libertad, | As a great fighter for our liberty, |
| Pero este pobre pueblo que se halla enfurecido | But this poor people that is enraged |
| Maldice a cada hora su barbara ansiedad | Every hour curses his barbarous eagerness. |
| ¿Deque le sirve a Usted, señor don Venustiano, | Since when there were at your service, Mr. Don Venustiano, |
| La ciencia de su frente y la edad que tiene Usted? | The wisdom of your forehead and the great age which is yours? |
| Si todos sus asuntos marchan por mal camino, | If all your affairs go by such a bad road, |
| No tiene Usted principios de ser libertador. | You haven't the principles to be a liberator. |
| Pues ya se puede huir a la vieja Europa | Well, now you can flee to old Europe |
| Usted y toda su tropa que vino a conquistar, | Yourself, and all your troop that came to conquer, |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Porque todo fué un sueño, el triunfo que le tocó, | Because it was all a dream, that triumph of yours, |
| Por eso le sofoca la gran revolución. | That is why the great revolution smothered you. |
| ¿Pues que pensaba Usted, Señor don Venustiano, | Well, what did you think, Mr. Venustiano, |
| Que con su gran esfuerzo vencería la nación? | That with your great force you would conquer the nation? |
| Pues sepa Usted y entienda que el pueblo Mexicano | Well, know and learn that the Mexican people |
| Despoja los tiranos de nuestra libertad. | Cuts down the tyrants of our liberty. |

War in Mexico is also politics, and it is waged in terms of personalities, of heroes, and of tyrants. The military songs of the narrative type usually recount some heroic act of one or another local leader. Of these the greatest is Emiliano Zapata, but other lesser men are also sung. Characteristically it is the tragic death, accomplished through perfidious betrayal, that is the subject of the ballad. The captured general defies his captors, makes a patriotic speech, and is shot. Ballads of this type are specific as to names and dates —they are intermediate in character between, and identical in function with, the legends of a tribal people and the history-books of primary education in city life. "On the thirtieth of May," begins the "Ballad of Serna," "in Santana Clacotenco[1] was Don Sirino Serna, with his faithful brigade, guarding the *plaza*, when he found himself taken by surprise." A traitor named Quintero, an "Iscariot," betrayed him. "It was a little after four o'clock on that sad morning

[1] Not far north of Tepostlán, in the Federal District.

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when the cavalry surrounded him." There was a short but bitter struggle; Serna was taken by Quintero and stood up to be shot. His dying words are given: 533 539

| | |
|---|---|
| "No crea Usted, Quintero, que con amenazas, | "Don't think, Quintero, that because of threats, |
| Tal vez yo cambie de resolución, | Perhaps my resolution wavers, |
| Soy su prisionero, y ¡Que viva Zapata! | I am your prisoner, and long live Zapata! |
| ¡Mueran los traidores de nuestra nación! | Die the traitors of our country! |
| En aquel momento cayó aquel valiente, | At that moment that brave man fell, |
| Bañado en su sangre por un projectil, | Bathed in his blood by a bullet, |
| Don Sirino Serna nos dijo, "Fijense, | Don Sirino Serna said to us, "Stand firm, |
| Nos dejó un ejemplo digno de valor civil." | He left us a worthy example of civic valor." |

Songs such as these give us the Tepoztecan definition of patriotism. The *patria* is the *patria chica*, the mountain-walled valleys of northern Morelos. In *Adelita* the soldier sings: [186]

| | |
|---|---|
| Soy soldado revolucionario | I'm a soldier of the revolution |
| Que defiendo el suelo en que nací | Who defends the soil where I was born, |
| Porque no verlo en poder de otro extraño, | So as not to see it in the power of some foreigner, |
| Opresor que no sea del país. | Some oppressor who is not of the country. |

The appeal is always to the people of Morelos. "Morelenses! Hurrah for the plan of Ayala!" "Would they pass through thee, O State of Morelos?" And [186]

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533 539 [186] the tendency in Morelos for this nationalistic consciousness to assume a racial aspect is indicated in

| | |
|---|---|
| Que vivan los valientes defensores de la sierra, | Hurrah for the brave defenders of the sierra, |
| Que vivan nuestros jefes de la revolución, | Hurrah for our revolutionary leaders, |
| Que viva el Plan de Ayala, que vivan los aztecas, | Hurrah for the Plan of Ayala, hurrah for the Aztecs, |
| Muera Don Venustiano y su mal opinión. | Death to Don Venustiano and his bad cause. |

533 538 212 This, then, is the real literature of Tepoztlán.[1] It does not merely persist; it thrives and multiplies; it is a true voice of the people. It is not Indian but Mexican. It is comparable with the ballads of fifteenth-century England. In general it passes from the mouth of the singer to the ear of the listener, who becomes the next singer. But many *corridos* are written down. It is easier to learn a song if you can borrow the text and study it over. It is probable that one of the earliest needs for writing felt by an illiterate *tonto* is in connection with these songs. When such a one was asked if he knew some songs, he replied regretfully,

[1] The classification of the local songs here used may be summarized:

- Traditional songs, ritualistic and anonymous
  - Sacred songs of public ritual: *alabanzas*
  - Secular songs of private ritual: *mañanitas*
- Ephemeral songs, social and aesthetic
  - Conventional art forms
    - Odes of love
    - The singer sung
  - More truly expressive songs, preserving group experience and defining group values
    - Songs of war and heroism
      - Soldier songs
      - Political lampoons
      - Narrative songs

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"Oh, no, I have no copy-book." To know and to be able to sing the current songs is a common ambition of young boys. It is an advantage to be able to write. A girl of fourteen of the largely illiterate *barrio* of Los Reyes was the only one of her family to have a knowledge of writing. Although *corridos* are a part of a man's world, not a woman's, her elder brother was forced to ask her to help him in writing down a song he wanted to learn. Her prestige was correspondingly increased.

At the same time the supremacy of these local songs is not unchallenged. Songs of the city are occasionally heard in Tepoztlán. There are several phonographs, and these aid in making city songs popular. The songs of urban Mexico are much like our sentimental songs. As the urbanization of Tepoztlán slowly progresses, the city songs will become more usual; there will be a shift of emphasis from folk song to popular song.[1]

[1] One convention of city sentiment prevails in Tepoztlán. As elsewhere in Mexico, it is customary to give a person on his birthday colored postcards depicting white blonde women and men in European attire in attitudes of banal affection, amid turtledoves and flowers. These cards are as customary as the *mañanitas* on birthday mornings.

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# CHAPTER XI

## THE *SANTO* AND THE *VETERANO*

It should appear from the foregoing chapter that the most important groups of songs, with the possible exception of the conventional love songs, are the *alabanzas* and the *corridos*.[1] The former are traditional, sacred, ritualistic; the latter are ephemeral, secular, and historical. But the *corridos* that recount the exploits of military heroes are like the *alabanzas* in this: they also are songs of celebration; they also extol personages that embody the admiration or adoration of the Tepoztecans. The one praises the *santo;* the other, the *veterano*. The *santo* and the *veterano* are both symbols of the ideals, the wishes, of the group. These symbols are local; in most instances the meaning that they have is for the locality only. The community is ideologically as well as economically self-sufficient.

The *santo* is a local patron. Each Indian village in pre-Columbian days had its patron deity, while in Mediterranean Europe protector gods of city or village were characteristic; it is impossible and unnecessary to say how much of each tradition enters into the attitudes of Tepoztlán. In rural Mexico every hamlet has its patron saint. In Tepoztlán, as has al-

[1] Using this word to mean the ballads describing current events or circumstances.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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specifically and commonly it refers to the images of Christian saints housed in temples. *Veterano*, on the other hand, is not a word with this precise conceptual connotation. It is an appellation applied to any distinguished military leader. People do not say *los veteranos* as they do say *los santos*. But the term always implies the heroic qualities which, tending to become mythical, make the *veterano* a symbol rather than an individual person; and, therefore, it is convenient to use it to denote this secular complement of the *santo*.

Every revolution produces its hundreds of *veteranos*. The memories of the lesser *veteranos* exert an influence as local as that of the lesser *santos*. The reputation of a few becomes as wide as Mexico. Probably the best known of these popular heroes is Pancho Villa,[1] and perhaps the one other who comes close to national fame is Emiliano Zapata. In spite of this wide notoriety, Zapata remains, however, a particular hero, and the greatest hero, of the Indians of Morelos. There live the memories of many other Zapatista generals—of Felipe Neri, Sirino Serna, Diego Ruiz, and Everardo González. There were at least five Zapatista generals from Tepoztlán.[2] There are stories about all of these, and *corridos* about many, but the heroic qualities of none of them can compare with the local conception of Emiliano Zapata, the principal leader of the southern revolutionary movement against Carranza.

[1] There are many *corridos* about Villa and several popular books describing his life and exploits.

[2] The three Sanchez brothers and the two Galvan brothers.

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Zapata was a very great man. The only reason he lost was that he had no money. He fought for the poor people, but the millionaires were against him.

Zapata as a symbol embodies the group consciousness of the Indians of Morelos which developed during the revolution. His exploits are sung all over Mexico, but it is especially in Morelos that his memory is revered. *Corridos*[1] about him, written elsewhere in Mexico, describe his "base passions" and refer to him as "an Attila." But in the songs of the local collection he is "our defender," "a Napoleon," "our exalted savior," "the scourge of many a traitor," and "so wise and quick-thinking a *veterano*."

| | |
|---|---|
| Les encargó a las fuerzas surianas<br>Que como jefe y sublime redentor; | He charged the forces of the south<br>As chief and exalted savior; |
| Su memoria conserven mañana<br>Como prueba de su patrio amor. | To preserve his memory tomorrow<br>As a proof of their love of country. |

It is only in Morelos, in Tepoztlán and scores of Indian villages like it, that Zapata becomes truly legendary, and then even mythical. It is only in Morelos that he becomes a King Arthur, a Robin Hood. The stories and songs about Zapata may be dignified with the term "cycle." To the extent that these stories and songs merely keep alive a glorious memory they are legends—the folk counterpart of history. To the extent that the figure of Zapata defines the standards and justifies the conduct and ethical judgments of the people out of which he arose, they are myths.

[1] Obtained in printed form in Mexico City.

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Institucional) presidential messages, propaganda leaflets from the League of Agrarian Communities, the Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos, and the Sinarquistas. However, the reading public is still very small, and for the most part such leaflets go unnoticed.

Twenty years ago the few literate persons in the village read novels, such as the popular *Génova de Brabante* or *María el Hada del Bosque* and, among the youth, the *Secretario de los Amantes*. Today one finds the youth reading the popular comics "Paquín" and "Chamaco." The principal characters in these comics are Mexicans and the jokes are full of Mexicanisms associated with city life.

Other fairly common items read by young Tepoztecans are the *cancioneros* (song sheets), some of which are distributed free by the Bayer Aspirin Company as part of their advertising. These songs are written by Mexicans and generally reflect much of the life of the countryside in different regions of Mexico. It is not unusual on a moonlit night to hear groups of young men singing of a legend of Mayab, or a *danzón* from Vera Cruz, or a song from Jalisco. American tunes such as "Begin the Beguine," sung in Spanish, are also occasionally heard. Many of the songs exalt the virtues of the Mexicans and of Mexico, and reflect the growing sense of nationalism. Thus, we were not surprised to hear a young Tepoztecan on his way to the fields singing, "Soy puro mexicano, nacido en esta tierra que es mi linda nación." This song is a symbol of Tepoztecan localism slowly giving way to identification with the Mexican nation.

Because of the proximity of the state capital to Mexico City, local newspapers are overshadowed by the national dailies. However, two small papers are published in Cuernavaca, and these carry local notices, news, and many advertisements of the commercial houses of Cuernavaca. Some of these newspapers reach Tepoztlán, but they are read primarily by the local government officials. On fiesta days the paper is sometimes sold by a hawker who may announce some sensational murder in the state. The paper is very Morelos-conscious and uses slogans such as, "Every good Morelense buys these products" or "Morelos advances towards agricultural progress," etc. The only other local periodical which reaches a few Tepoztecans is the *Diario Oficial del Estado*, read primarily by the courthouse officials.

### LITERACY CAMPAIGN

Another federal service which reached Tepoztlán and contributed toward the identification of Tepoztecans with the nation was the campaign against illiteracy, carried out by the Department of Education. The slogans used included, "Mexico must be great because of its culture" and "The Fatherland must have citizens who can read." Slogans such as these were posted on billboards in the village, and representatives from the Department of Education came to Tepoztlán, gave talks, and showed movies. It was recognized that in a village like Tepoztlán the original idea of each literate teaching at least one illiterate how to read would not work. The program was therefore organized by the schoolteachers in terms of adult evening classes for illiterates.

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NATIONAL AND STATE HOLIDAYS

The commemoration of the dates of national independence is assuming more and more importance in Tepoztlán. Thanks to the labor of the school, the national holidays of September fifteenth and sixteenth have become outstanding fiestas in the village—only the Carnaval is still more popular. Preparations are begun at least two months prior to September fifteenth. The children are the first to begin the campaign in the homes, for they are told by their teachers to ask for new uniforms for the parade. Despite the burden of such expense, many parents purchase the uniforms. All the local officials, the president, the councilmen, the judges, the director of the school, and the collector of rents, prepare for the event and all attend. Speakers from the governor's office in nearby Cuernavaca are usually invited, and the populace turns out to hear them.

The state of Morelos has its own civic fiestas which are celebrated with considerable flourish. Among the most important are the celebration of the birthday of Father Morelos, after whom the state was named, and the birth and death of the great General Emiliano Zapata, the most popular hero in the state. As in the case of the national fiestas, the school is the organizing and driving force in the celebration of these fiestas; however, they are not on as large a scale as national fiestas. The teachers and the school director generally make speeches, reviewing the great achievements of the hero Zapata, and they do not fail to point out that at least five of Zapata's generals were from Tepoztlán. In addition to these local celebrations, Tepoztecans often send a delegate to the official state celebration of Zapata's birthday.

The state also has its popular song-writers, and its songs dwell on local history or local scenes, easily recognized as Morelos songs by the lyrics if not by the music.

MOVIES

Mexican movies have also broadened the Tepoztecan view of Mexico and the world. More and more the younger generation see an occasional movie in Cuernavaca, and sometimes a movie comes to Tepoztlán to be shown in the plaza at a small cost.

## *ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS*

At least half a dozen federal government agencies have files on Tepoztlán. These files contain correspondence with the village and provide us with a more or less objective record of Tepoztlán and national agencies. Most of the files date from the early twenties and reflect the increasing role of these agencies in village life in the post-Revolutionary period. The agencies which have the fullest records are the Departamento Agrario, Forestal, Asuntos Indígenas, Economía Nacional, Salubridad, and Asistencia Social.

It is not my purpose to give a detailed account of all the federal agencies which may directly or indirectly influence Tepoztlán. However, the more salient ways

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Of the *curanderos*, four are new and have learned their specialty within the last ten years. Of the two *chirimiteros* referred to by Redfield, one died a short time ago and the other still practices; four have learned their skill within the last six years. The two *huehuechiques* are the same ones of twenty years ago; there have been no new recruits. Of the two fireworks makers of twenty years ago, one has died; the other five are all new in the trade. The three mask makers of Redfield's time are still working, but in addition two sons and a cousin have learned the trade.

At this point we may ask what the prospects are for the survival of these folk specialists in the face of the changes which are taking place in the village. The prospects for the survival of the occupations of mask makers and fireworks makers are very good. The former is dependent primarily upon the Carnaval and the latter upon the barrio fiestas, neither of which shows the slightest signs of dying out. On the contrary, the former has grown in importance and has become an occasion of great spending, while the latter continues unabated and has the active support of the young men, many of whom are comparatively sophisticated.

The prospects for the survival of the *chirimiteros* are not quite as good because their function is gradually being taken over by the modern secular musicians. This tendency can be seen in the center barrios, where, as in Redfield's time, culture changes appeared first in the village. In the last barrio fiesta of San Miguel, in place of the primitive *chirimía*, a fifteen-piece band played from the chapel roof throughout the night. The profession that seems certain to become extinct is that of the *huehuechique*, for this occupation depends on the knowledge and use of Náhuatl, which is rapidly disappearing in the village.[8] An important change in connection with the occupations of *chirimitero* and *huehuechique* is that these specialists are now paid in money; formerly they were compensated with food and drink, another indication of the increasing importance of money.

Prediction in the case of the *curanderos* is more difficult. Most Tepoztecans are not ready to give up their *curanderos*. But they have reached the stage where they are willing to consider the doctor as an alternative, especially in the case of serious illness. Many Tepoztecans now visit private doctors and the Public Health Clinic in Cuernavaca. Certainly the hold of the *curanderos* has become much weaker; they are no longer as busy as formerly, and their income on the whole is very small. There are only two *curanderos* in the village who have great prestige and good income.

This raises the question of the relative desirability of the survival of old institutions in the face of general trends toward modernization. While this problem will be discussed later, it can be pointed out here that a sharp distinction must be made between the social effects of such old institutions as the Carnaval and barrio fiestas on the one hand and the *curandero* on the other. The fiestas, especially the Carnaval, provide much needed diversion for all age groups and tend to unify the village.

[8] During the time that this was being written, one of the two *huehuechiques* died, and no new recruit has appeared to take his place.

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793 mysticism and religious fervor and his attitude of detachment suits them well. However, being a native son has diminished somewhat the aura of respect which generally surrounds a village priest and has encouraged some Tepoztecans to make direct appeals to him to lower his fees and to settle family conflicts and personal problems. He has also been drawn into some small conflicts, a result of which was his being denounced to the archbishop of Mexico City by a group of Tepoztecans.

CHART 3. Religious hierarchy of Tepoztlán.

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792 In the fourth place are the Monjas Carmelitas, the aforementioned nuns, who, [793] although a recent addition, are to reside permanently in the village. These nuns are all outsiders and are treated with great respect by Tepoztecans. In addition to their [575] other activities, the nuns have assumed the direction of some of the religious associations, particularly the *Juventud de Acción Católica*. They have greatly extended the [794] activities and increased the membership of these associations and by their work have brought about a religious revival in Tepoztlán.

794 On the fifth level of the hierarchy are various lay functionaries of the church. These are: (1) The sacristan or sexton hired by the priest as his personal aid and caretaker of the church building. Specifically, the duties of the sacristan are to help the priest dress for ceremonial occasions, to memorize several prayers in Latin in order to assist at Mass, to care for the altar and the sacred vessels, to clean the temple, and to keep a record of the priest's religious program. At the time of this study the sacristan was a young unmarried man of twenty of an acculturated family in the barrio of Santo Domingo. He was paid a wage of from three to five pesos a day [465] and more on certain fiesta days when there is an excess of work.

[533] (2) The cantor or church singer is an assistant to the sacristan but is selected by the priest and responsible to him. He is expected to play the organ and sing [465] religious songs in Spanish and Latin. He participates in the singing during Mass

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and in leading the hymns and *Te Deums*. He is paid one peso for each Mass and fifty centavos for each *Te Deum*.

(3) The *rezanderos* are men who make a vocation of religion by memorizing many prayers and hiring themselves out to intone these prayers for others on special occasions. For example, if someone loses a horse or cow and wishes to ask San Pedro to help him find the animal he will pay one or two pesos to a *rezandero* to go to the chapel in the barrio of San Pedro and recite the appropriate prayer.

Although the *rezandero* is not recognized by the church as a functionary he is thought of as such by the populace. Some *rezanderos* play an important role in local religious life and enjoy certain prestige. The more skilled have a large repertory of prayers and deliver them with the impressive skill of a priest. It is interesting to note that the two most important *rezanderos*, both of whom were our informants, were also political leaders; one in the Cristero movement, the other in the opposing leftist group. The latter, incidentally, became the first Protestant in Tepoztlán. At present there are approximately ten *rezanderos* in the village and the majority of these live in the barrio of Santo Domingo.

(4) The members and respective officers of the religious associations are a type of lay church functionaries. Many of these associations were founded in colonial times and had a long history of ups and downs. They suffered misfortunes during the struggle for independence and during the Reform and the Revolution but were always reorganized in times of peace. Some of these associations are national and international in character, such as the Asociación Guadalupana, the Apostolado de la Oración, and the Acción Católica; others are essentially local and lack external ties. We shall describe the more important of these organizations.

a) The Asociación de la Vela Perpetua, the objective of which is to give homage to the *Santísimo Sacramento* by permanently maintaining a lighted candle on the altar. The Asociación consists of thirty-one women who identify themselves by wearing a medal suspended on a white ribbon. Each member dedicates one day a month to keeping vigil at the altar. Membership is limited to the maximum number of days in a month and this society is considered honorific and select. In the days of Díaz only the wives of *caciques* were members. The organization has a president, secretary, and treasurer; apart from its routine religious activity, this society serves no other social function.

b) Asociación del Apostolado de la Oración celebrates the first Friday of each month. Although men may join, the present membership consists of twenty-five to thirty women. The distinguishing mark is a medal worn on a red ribbon. It is interesting to note that although this organization has different levels of membership to stimulate the mystic devotion of its members, in Tepoztlán the members fulfill only the rituals of the first order without aspiring to the superior orders.

c) Asociación Guadalupana celebrates the twelfth day of each month in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Membership is made up of thirty women.

d) The Cofradía de la Virgen del Carmen is a sisterhood of about thirty women who celebrate the sixteenth day of each month. The scapulary of the Virgen del

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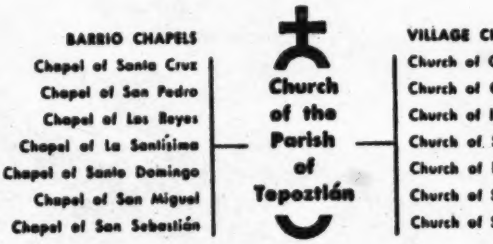
794 In addition to barrio *mayordomos* there are *mayordomos* of the chapels of the
[628] seven surrounding villages. Occasionally the people of these villages select someone in Tepoztlán to be their *mayordomo*, as did Ixcatepec in electing a young man from the barrio of San Pedro in Tepoztlán.

[778] There are also several *mayordomos* of an inferior category who are in charge of certain images. Thus, for example, in the barrio of Santa Cruz there is a *mayordomo* to care for the Virgen del Rosario situated in the barrio chapel.

The *mayordomos* have several assistants whom we include on the sixth level of religious functionaries. The *limosneros* are permanent functionaries who collect the taxes from house to house. These men, attired in their clean Sunday clothes and carrying a plate on which is a spray of Bougainvillaea or some other red flowers, visit every house asking for contributions, such as "A *limosna* for the image of the *Divino Rostro* whose day is to be celebrated on Sunday." One type of *limosnero* of special interest is the *huehuechique*, who can say Catholic prayers in Náhuatl and
[621] who collects money for the New Year. At one time there were many *huehuechiques* but now there is only one in the barrio of Santa Cruz.

[533] Among those who assist the *mayordomos* and who animate the barrio fiestas are the musicians. When there is not enough money to hire a professional band from Cuernavaca or Mexico City, the *mayordomos* will hire local musicians. Other assistants clean the local chapel and repair the masonry. The *danzantes* who
[535] dance in honor of the barrio saint are also temporary functionaries. It is the task of the *mayordomo* to organize dance groups and to persuade parents to permit their
[788] children to participate. Still another temporary functionary is the *mayordomo* in charge of organizing religious peregrinations to other parts of Mexico.

CHART 4. Organization of the church.




On the seventh level of the religious hierarchy are the faithful members of the church. It is from among the more pious of these that a regular congregation and members of the religious associations are drawn; almost everyone in the village, however, participates at some time in religious activities, in barrio fiestas, and in
[476] the *cuatequitl del santo*, which is the collective working of the milpas dedicated to the support of particular saints.

[648] All Tepoztecans, whether pious or not, contribute money to the church; indeed, the church of Tepoztlán is entirely self-supporting and does not require sub-

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The quality of constriction is also reflected in artistic expression and creativeness, both of which are limited. There are practically no handicrafts, no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Although sewing, knitting, crocheting, and embroidery are becoming more widespread as a result of the influence of the cultural missions, the patterns used are purchased in Cuernavaca stores or copied from style magazines, and this work can hardly be called creative.

Music and the dance are very poorly developed. There are no traditional dances for men and women. The only traditional step used is the *brinco*, literally "the jump," which is a short jumping or skipping step done repeatedly without variation, to the accompaniment of a simple and monotonous melody played over and over. Only men are permitted to dance this step, and they do so singly or arm in arm with others, around the plaza in a large circle.

Modern social dancing has been learned by some of the more acculturated young people, and dances are held about once a week in the plaza under the uncertain light of a Coleman gasoline lamp. Social dancing has not become popular; most parents still refuse to permit their daughters to attend these dances, and boys have difficulty finding partners. By and large, the dancing lacks skill and grace and the dances seem dreary affairs. The school teaches a few traditional dances from other parts of Mexico, and these are occasionally performed in public by the school children. Most children, however, do not participate or have occasion to use these dances later. In short, the dance is not an important part of Tepoztecan life.

Musical expression consists primarily of singing typical regional songs to the accompaniment of the guitar. The local manner of singing is characterized by loudness and shouting, with little variation of style. These songs are sung exclusively by unmarried youths. Groups of boys or girls may serenade a friend or relative at dawn with the *mañanita*, or birthday songs, which are popular throughout Mexico. Perhaps the best singing occurs in the church where a selected choir of women and children sing under the direction of the *cantor*. New types of songs are being introduced by the school but are sung only by children; popular songs of the city, heard on the radio, are sung by girls in the privacy of their homes.

There are a number of bands of musicians who perform at local fiestas, dances, and at the more elegant weddings, baptisms, and funerals. These bands have a broader repertory than the singers, and play well-known music of Mexico and other nations. In musical skill, however, they compare unfavorably with the village guitar players and with musicians in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

There is very little storytelling, and unlike villages in Spain, there is no rich lore of proverbs or sayings. Also, mothers generally do not sing to their children.

The clothing of the villagers is somewhat drab. The bright colors found in some parts of Mexico—the red skirts of Cherán, the red seed necklaces of the Tarascan women, the flamboyant serapes and *rebozos* of the south, the colorful pottery of Puebla and Oaxaca—are missing in Tepoztlán. Bright colors, particularly in clothing, are not in accord with Tepoztecan ideas of propriety, and only young girls are now beginning to wear them. Older women wear dull colored dresses,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



and say, "*Señorita*, may I accompany you for a moment?" If the girl consents, he will at once propose that they be *novios*, and he then will begin to send her love letters. This approach is recent and is limited to those with more education or contact with the outside, or to those with courage enough to face a possible refusal or scolding from the girl. The writing of love letters is no longer limited to a few but has become widespread with increasing literacy. Young people who are unable to write well ask a friend with more education to do it for them. Girls and boys who have been to secondary school are particularly sought out as letter writers, and they derive a great deal of prestige in this way. The letters are written in flowery style and are usually copied out of a book of etiquette. A typical letter is the following:

Adored Señorita:

The impulses of my heart are such that they encourage even the most cautious man to commit indiscretion which sooner or later he will regret. Perhaps this will not happen to me in taking the liberty of writing this letter. My feelings are such that I am taking the liberty in order to ascertain my coming fate, pending the day when you honor me with your affirmative or negative response.

My soul is carried to the extreme in manifesting in exaggerated phrases, which are lacking in substance and sound, the love that you inspire. But do not think that because of this I do not feel a true passion for your incomparable beauty and goodness. The proof is that, despite the fear that my petition will be denied, I tremulously write this declaration and anxiously await the result, hoping that my love will be requited.

Favor me, Señorita, and attend my entreaty; and if, unutterable words, you feel a little sympathy toward one so audacious as to love you tenderly, communicate with me quickly and in all sincerity.

With all the sentiment which invades the heart of your respectful and constant adorer.

Your devoted servant,

A boy may send two or three such letters anonymously before he has the courage to affix his name. If a favorable reply is received, the boy arranges for a meeting. Any answer but an outright refusal is taken to be favorable; when a girl asks for time to think it over, a boy considers her his *novia*. It is a common sight to see a young boy loitering at a street corner for hours, waiting for an opportunity to get a glimpse of his *novia* or to say a few words to her. (See Fig. 60.) This "cornering" a girl (*esquiniar la muchacha*) is a regular courting practice in Tepoztlán. At night boys often gather at a corner to play the guitar and serenade a nearby *novia* of one of the group. A typical song is as follows:

I come to greet you
With this serenade of love.
May you have no trouble,
My charming angel.

Your laughter or your fear
Will tell me of your feelings.
I am your faithful lover
And adore you always.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37



**May 8.** ***Fiesta of San Miguel,*** **celebrated in San Miguel: This is one of the two annual fiestas of this barrio. As one of the larger barrios, it spends huge sums to have an impressive fiesta.** 796

**The following Thursday.** ***Fiesta of Thursday of the Ascensión,*** **celebrated in the parish church: This is a movable fiesta, which comes seven weeks after Holy Thursday. Mass is said in the large church, and fireworks are set off. The peasants must rest this day.** 461

**Ten days later.** ***Fiesta of Tlanepantla,*** **celebrated in Tlanepantla: A favorite fiesta of Tepoztecans, who carry** ***aguacate, cuajilote,*** **and** ***zapote blanco*** **for sale.** 439

**All of June is dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.**

**About June 12.** ***Fiesta of La Santísima,*** **celebrated in La Santísima: La Santísima, traditional rival of Santo Domingo, organizes an impressive fiesta, with the usual playing of the** ***chirimía,*** **and the eating of** ***mole*** **and tamales.**

**June 24.** ***Fiesta of Day of San Juan,*** **celebrated in San Juan: Boys and girls sing** ***mañanitas*** **to the image of San Juan at dawn. Then they visit houses where persons named Juan or Juanita live, and they sing** ***mañanitas.*** **In the afternoon, the young people go out to the fields to seek four-leaf clovers for luck.** 533 777

**June 29.** ***Fiesta of San Pedro,*** **celebrated in San Pedro: Similar to other fiestas.**

**July 16.** ***Fiesta of Day of Virgin of Carmen,*** **celebrated in the parish church: All who wear the scapulary of this virgin must attend Mass.**

**July 22.** ***Fiesta of Amatlán,*** **celebrated in Amatlán: Generally only about fifty Tepoztecans attend.** 484

**July 25.** ***Fiesta of Santiago,*** **celebrated in Santiago: During our visit about 150 persons from Tepoztlán attended.**

**Aug. 4.** ***Fiesta of Santo Domingo,*** **celebrated in Santo Domingo: An important fiesta which lasts three days. A band is hired in Mexico City for greater prestige. There are** ***toros,*** **cockfights, dancers, and fireworks.** 533 541

**Aug. 6.** ***Fiesta of San Salvador,*** **celebrated in Santa Cruz and Ixcatepec: Follows the usual patterns of barrio fiestas.**

**Aug. 15.** ***Fiesta of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary,*** **celebrated in Tejalpa.**

**Sept. 8.** ***Fiesta of the Virgin of the Natividad,*** **patron of Tepoztlán: This is one of the most important village-wide fiestas, combining pre-Hispanic and Catholic elements. The Catholic ceremony in honor of the Virgin takes place in the church; the honor to El Tepozteco takes place out of doors. A dance to El Tepozteco is held to the accompaniment of the ancient** ***teponaztle*** **and a traditional discourse of El Tepozteco in Náhuatl is spoken.** 776 527

**Sept. 28.** ***Day of the Blessing of the Pericón,*** **celebrated in the parish church and cornfields: This is an outing day for Tepoztecans who go out into the cornfields to roast fresh corn and place crosses of blessed** ***pericón*** **at the four corners of the milpas. Similar crosses are also placed in the homes, for it is believed that on this night the demons are loose, and the evil winds blow hard.** 527 778 776

**Sept. 29.** ***Fiesta of Barrio of San Miguel,*** **celebrated in San Miguel: Follows the tradition of other barrio fiestas.**

**Oct. 31.** ***All Saints' Day (Children),*** **celebrated in the parish church, in the homes, and at the cemetery: Day in commemoration of dead children. A candle is lighted for the dead child, and incense is burned.**[8] 769 782

[8] **See Redfield,** ***Tepoztlán,*** **for more detailed description.**

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
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the forest resources sharply reduced charcoal production in the village and many families have thereby lost a traditional source of income. Some found work as agricultural laborers on the two or three gladiola farms that have been established in Tepoztlán; others have been employed by the nearby Y.M.C.A. Many more found work in Cuernavaca or as day laborers on road construction.

The changes in the occupational structure of the village have accentuated earlier trends. The number of nonagricultural occupations increased from 26 in 1944 to 33 in 1956 and the number of people engaged in these occupations rose from 273 to 565. This increase has been accompanied by greater specialization and a decline in the role of agriculture in the total economy. In 1944, approximately 70 percent of those engaged in nonagricultural occupations also farmed; in 1956, the comparable figure was only 25 percent! Today there is a much greater participation of women in the nonagricultural occupations than formerly. Women still predominate as teachers, *curanderos,* and corn merchants, but they now are also full-time tortilla makers, dressmakers, and hairdressers. Other new occupations in the village are those of tailor, *ciruela* merchant, and milk merchant. The increase in the number of teachers has been striking—from 21 in 1944 to 101 in 1956, an indication of the growth of a middle class in the village. Whereas formerly there was a shortage of teachers in the village, there is now a shortage of teaching jobs, and 70 Tepoztecans teach in rural schools outside of the village. Other occupations that have shown a large increase in numbers are: bus line employees, from 22 to 35; barbers, from 15 to 22; butchers, from 15 to 32; and storekeepers, from 20 to 64.

The distribution of people engaged in nonagricultural occupations by barrio shows an intensification of the older pattern of concentration in the larger central barrios: La Santísima, 27 percent; Santo Domingo, 25 percent; San Miguel, 23 percent; Santa Cruz, 11 percent; San Sebastian, 8 percent; Los Reyes, 5 percent; and San Pedro, 1 percent. Similarly, 85 percent of those engaged in the new occupations come from the three central barrios. The trend toward barrio differentiation of occupations, however, has been offset by a spread of services from the central plaza to the barrios. Each barrio now has its own corn mill and at least one store. Another interesting and symptomatic change has been the rise in the number of money lenders—from about 6 in 1944 to 18 in 1956. This reflects a much greater need for cash as well as an influx of wealth.

The only occupations that have shown a decline in the number of members since 1944 are those of carpenter, *curandero, chirimitero* (flute player), maguey fiber collector, and charcoal maker. The *huehuechiques* (ceremonial barrio officers) have completely disappeared, as I predicted in my earlier study. The *chirimiteros* are being replaced by modern secular musicians. As noted earlier, the decline in charcoal making was forced on the village by the federal authorities.

The most dramatic occupational change and one which has become a major new source of income to the village is the *bracero* movement. In 1948,